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University of Toronto Studies

REVIEW OF

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

RELATING TO CANADA

VOL. XX

REVIEW OF

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

RELATING TO CANADA

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA TO THE EMPIRE

Page

LUCAS: The British Empire 1
MACDONALD: Democracy and the nations 3
BOURASSA: Que devons-nous à l'Angleterre? 4
EWART: Kingdom papers 6
TUCKER: The battle glory of Canada 6
BORDEN: Canada at war 6
HAYDON: Canada and the war 7
SKELTON: Canada in war-time (in Political Quarterly) 7
PORRITT: Canada in war-time (in Edinburgh Review) 8
SQUIRES: Münsterberg and militarism checked 8
WITH THE FIRST CANADIAN CONTINGENT 8

II. THE HISTORY OF CANADA

BABCOCK: The so-called mythical islands of the Atlantic in mediaeval maps (in Scottish Geographical Magazine) 9
FERNALD: The natural history of ancient Vinland and its geographic significance (in Bulletin of the American Geographic Society) ....
MUNN: The location of Helluland, Markland, and Wineland from the Icelandic sagas 11
ALEXANDER (ed.): The north-west and north-east passages, 1576-1611 11
LESCARBOT: The History of New France 12
COLBY: The founder of New France 15
TREMBLAY: La sépulture d'Etienne Brulé (in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada) 16
FINLEY: The French in the heart of America 16
JOUVE: Les Franciscains et le Canada 17
(Review by the Rev. Father Hugolin, o.f.m.)
CAMPBELL: Pioneer laymen of North America 19
HAMMOND: Quaint and historic forts of North America 20
CAHALL: The Sovereign Council of New France 21
(Review by William Bennett Munro, Ph.D., Professor of Government in Harvard University.)
ROY: Les conseillers au Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France (in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.) 23

II. THE HISTORY OF CANADA—*Continued.*

EASTMAN: Church and State in early Canada 24
(*Review by Professor William Bennett Munro.*)
SULTE: La Noblesse au Canada avant 1914 (in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.) 25
CROCKETT AND WALLIS: North America during the eighteenth century 26
GREENE (ed.): The story of old Fort Plain and the middle Mohawk valley 27
GRANT: The Capture of Oswego by Montcalm in 1756 (in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.) 27
JOHNSTONE: Mémoires (in Ninth Series of Historical Documents of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec) 28
JOHNSTON: A gallery of heroes and heroines 29
FIRTH (ed.): American garland 29
DECELLES: À la conquête de la liberté 30
ALVORD AND CARTER (eds.): The critical period 1763-1765 (in Publications of the Illinois State Historical Society) 31
MARQUIS: The war chief of the Ottawas 32
(*Review by C. M. Burton, M.A., Historiographer of the City of Detroit.*)
SIEBERT: The temporary settlements of Loyalists at Machiche, P.Q. (in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.) 34
SIEBERT: The Loyalist settlements on the Gaspé peninsula (Ibid.) 34
SIEBERT: The Loyalists and Six Nation Indians in the Niagara peninsula (Ibid.) 34
CHINARD: Notes sur le voyage de Chateaubriand en Amérique 1791 (in University of California Publications in Modern Philology) 34
WOOD: The war with the United States 35
UPDYKE: The diplomacy of the War of 1812 36
REMNANTS OF THE LETTER FILES OF THE DEARBORN FAMILY (in Mississippi Valley Historical Review) 37
BAYARD: Papers (in Annual Report of the American Historical Association) 38
ADAMS: Writings 38
RAYMOND: Tecumseh 39
RIDDELL: Addresses 40
BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY: Publications, vol. 18 41
WALLACE: The Family Compact 41
DURHAM: Journal (in Publ. Lit. and Hist. Soc. Quebec) 44
POPE: The day of Sir John Macdonald 46
(*Review by Sir John S. Willison, LL.D.*)
HARKIN: Political reminiscences of the Right Hon. Sir Charles Tupper .. 51
WILLSON: The life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal 52
BRYCE: The real Strathcona (in Canadian Magazine) 52
BURPEE: Sir Sandford Fleming, Empire builder 57
PETERSON: Canadian essays and addresses 59

II. THE HISTORY OF CANADA—*Continued.*

MORIN: Les médailles décernées aux Indiens d'Amérique (in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.) ... 60
TODD: Armory and lineages of Canada ... 60
UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS' ASSOCIATION: Annual Transactions ... 61
SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE DE QUÉBEC: Bulletin ... 62
WOMEN'S HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OTTAWA: Transactions ... 63
ADDRESSES DELIVERED BEFORE THE CANADIAN CLUB OF MONTREAL ... 63
BULLETIN DES RECHERCHES HISTORIQUES ... 64
CANADIAN ANNUAL REVIEW ... 65
CANADIAN ANTIQUARIAN AND NUMISMATIC JOURNAL ... 65
CANADIAN MAGAZINE ... 67
NOUVELLE FRANCE ... 69
QUEEN'S QUARTERLY ... 69
REVUE CANADIENNE ... 70
UNITED EMPIRE ... 71
UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE ... 71

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: Collections ... 74
WOOD: The great fortress ... 75
RAYMOND: The first Governor of New Brunswick (in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.) ... 76
GRANT: The tribune of Nova Scotia ... 77
EATON: Chapters in the history of Halifax (in Americana) ... 79
EATON: Rhode Island settlers on the French lands in Nova Scotia (Ibid.) 80
WOOD: The tourist's Maritime Provinces ... 81
MACMILLAN: The history of the Catholic Church in Prince Edward Island from 1835 till 1891 ... 81

(2) The Province of Quebec

BELLERIVE: Délégués canadiens-français en Angleterre de 1763 à 1867 ... 83
ATHERTON: Montreal 1535-1914 ... 84
GALE: Quebec 'twixt old and new ... 86
MASSICOTTE: Les actes des trois premiers tabellions de Montréal (in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.) ... 87
BELLESORT: Les souvenirs d'un seigneur canadien (in Revue des Deux Mondes) ... 87
MAILHOT: Les Bois-francs ... 87
FROMENT: Histoire de Saint-Martin ... }
DEMERS: Quelques notes historiques sur les missionaires, curés, etc., de la paroisse dite La Pointe aux Trembles ... } 88
JOYAL: Excursion sacerdotale chez les Tête-de-Boule ... 88
BLAKE: Brown Waters and other sketches ... 89

(2) **The Province of Quebec**—*Continued.*

DEMERS: Un des premiers colons d'Etchemin 90
ELIE: La famille Casavant 90
ELIE: La famille Phaneuf-Farnsworth 90
PRICE (ed.): Proceedings relating to the expulsion of Ezekiel Hart from the House of Assembly of Lower Canada (in Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society) 91
PRICE (ed.): Unpublished Canadian State papers relating to Benjamin Hart (Ibid.) 91
BRUCHÉSI: Le problème des races au Canada (in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.) 91
BILODEAU: Un Canadien errant 92
TOWNSEND: A short trip into the Labrador peninsula by way of the Natashquan river (in Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia) 92

(3) **The Province of Ontario**

HERRINGTON: Pioneer life among the Loyalist settlements of Upper Canada 93
LEES: Journal 94
HERRINGTON: Some notes on the first Legislative Assembly of Ontario and its Speaker, Hon. John Stevenson (in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.) 95
ERSKINE: Anna Jameson, letters and friendships 96
ONTARIO BUREAU OF ARCHIVES: Annual Reports 97
RIDDELL: The Court of King's Bench in Upper Canada 1824-27 98
RIDDELL: The duel in early Upper Canada (in Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology) 98
RIDDELL: The first judge at Detroit and his court 99
RIDDELL: The legal profession in Ontario and the Law Society of Upper Canada 100
MCARTHUR: In pastures green 100
ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY: Papers and Records 103
ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY: Annual Report 103
ESSEX HISTORICAL SOCIETY: Papers and Addresses 105
HURON INSTITUTE: Papers and Records 105
LENNOX AND ADDINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY: Papers and Records 106
NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: Publication No. 27 107
THUNDER BAY HISTORICAL SOCIETY: Annual Report 108
WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY: Papers and Records 108
WOMEN'S CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF TORONTO: Transactions 108

(4) **The Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta**

PRUD'HOMME: Le règne de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson 1821-1869 (in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.) 110
(*Review by Chester Martin, M.A., Professor of History in the University of Manitoba.*)

(4) The Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta—*Continued.*

WOOD: The Red River colony 113
(*Review by Professor Chester Martin.*)
SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE IN THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND THE NORTH-WEST COMPANY (in Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota) 114
LISTENFELT: The Hudson's Bay Company and the Red River trade (Ibid.) 115
(*Review by Professor Chester Martin.*)
BLEGEN: James W. Taylor, a biographical sketch 117
OLIVER (ed.): The Canadian North-West, its early development and legislative records 118
MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL OF THE NORTHERN DEPARTMENT OF RUPERT'S LAND 1830-1843 (in Coll. State Hist. Soc. N. Dakota) 121
(*Review by Edmund H. Oliver, Ph.D., Principal, Presbyterian Theological College, Saskatoon.*)
GILBERT: Le Saskatchewan 122
(*Review by Principal Oliver*).
STEELE: Forty years in Canada 124
(*Review by Professor Chester Martin.*)

(5) The Province of British Columbia and the Yukon District

LAUT: Pioneers of the Pacific coast 127
(*Review by His Honour Judge Howay, New Westminster, British Columbia.*)
MEANY: Vancouver's discovery of Puget Sound 129
NEW VANCOUVER JOURNAL (in Washington Historical Quarterly) 129
ELLIOTT: The fur-trade in the Columbia river basin (Ibid.) 130
ELLIOTT: The Dalles-Celilo portage (in Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society) 131
TALKINGTON: The story of the river (Ibid.) .....
DOUGLAS: Journal 132
(*Review by His Honour Judge Howay.*)
ELLIOTT (ed.): Journal of John Work (in Washington Historical Quarterly) 134
BAGLEY (ed.): Journal of occurrences at Nisqually House (Ibid.) .....
(*Review by His Honour Judge Howay.*)
GREEN: Journal of a tour to the north-west coast of America 136
DALE: Organization of the Oregon Emigrating Committees (in Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society) 138
MCLOUGHLIN: Last letter to the Hudson's Bay Company (in American Historical Review) 138
MEEKER: Story of the lost trail to Oregon 140
MACDONALD: A pioneer 141

(5) **The Province of British Columbia and the Yukon District**—*Continued.*

POWELL: The end of the trail 142
WHITE: Treaty of 1825—Correspondence respecting the boundary between Russian America (Alaska) and British North America (in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.) 142

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

LAUT: The Canadian Commonwealth 144
(*Review by C. E. Fryer, Ph.D., Professor of History in McGill University.*)
AMI: Canada and Newfoundland 146
WHITBECK: The St. Lawrence river and its part in the making of Canada (in Bull. Amer. Geog. Soc.) 149
DUNBAR: History of travel in America 149
BURPEE: Highways of the fur trade (in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.) 150
(*Review by J. B. Tyrrell, M.A., B.Sc.*)
DE TREMAUDAN: The Hudson Bay road 152
(*Review by J. B. Tyrrell, M.A., B.Sc.*)
BLACK: The real United States and Canada pocket guide-book 155
BROOKE: Letters from America 155
WATSON: A conversational tour in America 156
EVERITT: Round the world in strange company 156
COOPER: In the Canadian bush 156
ALLEN: Guide to the national parks of America 157
CHAMBERS: The unexploited West 157
PRUD'HOMME: Deux oubliés de l'histoire (in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.) ... 158
WHEELER: The Dog-rib Indian and his home (in Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia) 160
MR. STEFANSSON'S EXPEDITION (in Geographical Journal) 160
MUIR: Travels in Alaska 161
MUNN: Trip up the Whirlpool river (in Alpine Journal) 162
JOBE: Mt. Kitchi (in Bull. Amer. Geog. Soc.) 162
CANADIAN ALPINE JOURNAL 162
MITCHELL: In western Canada before the war 163
BOLTON: An expensive experiment, the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario 166
DONALD: The Canadian iron and steel industry 168
SCOTT: The new slavery 170
JOHNSON (ed.): Modern business 170
(*Review by W. J. A. Donald, Ph.D., Lecturer in Political Economy in McMaster University.*)
ABBOTT: The Administration of Indian affairs in Canada 173
MINUTES OF EVIDENCE ON MIGRATION 176
SKELTON: Federal finance (in Bulletin of the Department of History, etc. in Queen's University) 176

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS AND STATISTICS—*Continued.*

DONALD: Canadian financial problems (in Journal of Political Economy)..... 177
WADE: Experiments with the single tax in Western Canada..... 178
ADAMS: The National domain in Canada and its proper conservation (in Proc. Roy. Soc. Can.)..... 178
SHORTT: Railroad construction and national prosperity (in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.)..... 179

V. ARCHAEOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY, AND FOLKLORE

HOWLEY: The Beothucks or Red Indians..... 180
(*Review by A. F. Hunter, M.A., Secretary of the Ontario Historical Society.*)
MORICE: Northwestern Dénés and northeastern Asiatics (in Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute)..... 186
MORICE: Essai sur l'origine des Dénés de l'Amérique du Nord (in La Nouvelle-France)..... 186
BARBEAU: Les Indiens du Canada depuis la découverte (in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.)..... 187
HINES: The Red Indians of the plains..... 187
ORR: Annual Archaeological Report..... 188
SOWTER: The Highway of the Ottawa (in Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society)..... 189
HATHAWAY: The Story of the Hurons (in Maclean's Magazine)..... 189
LAIDLAW: Primitive fish hooks (in Rod and Gun in Canada)..... 190
LAIDLAW: Ontario effigy pipes in stone..... 190
LAIDLAW: Archaeological notes on Victoria County (in Archaeological Bulletin)..... 191
WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY: Papers and Records..... 191
HILL-TOUT: Some notes upon the discovery of a prehistoric human skeleton in British Columbia (in Science)..... 192
SPECK: The Family hunting band as the basis of Algonkian social organization (in American Anthropologist)..... 192
SPECK: The Eastern Algonkian Wabanaki confederacy (Ibid.)..... 192
SPECK: Family hunting territories and social life of various Algonkian bands of the Ottawa valley (in Memoirs of the Anthropological Series of Department of Mines, Canada)..... 193
SPECK: Myths and folk-lore of the Timiskaming Algonquin and Timagami Ojibwa (Ibid.)..... 193
SAPIR: Social organization of the west coast tribes (in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.)..... 194
SAPIR: Sketch of the social organization of the Nass river Indians (in Reports of the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey of Canada)..... 195

V. ARCHAEOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY, AND FOLKLORE—*Continued.*

SAPIR: Abnormal types of speech in Nootka (Ibid.)
SAPIR: Noun reduplication in Comox (Ibid.) 195
SAPIR: The Na-Dene languages (in American Anthropologist)
GANONG: Organization of the scientific investigation of the Indian place-nomenclature of the Maritime Provinces of Canada (in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.) 196
BARBEAU: Le folklore canadien-français (Ibid.) 196
BARBEAU: Wyandot tales (in Journal of American Folk-lore) 197
SPECK: Penobscot tales (Ibid.)
SPECK: Some Micmac tales from Cape Breton Island (Ibid.) 197
SPECK: Some Naskapi myths from Little Whale river (Ibid.)
PORSILD: Principle of the screw in the Technique of the Eskimo (in American Anthropologist) 197

VI. LAW, EDUCATION, ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, BIBLIOGRAPHY

CAMERON: The Canadian constitution 198
PARMELEE AND SUTHERLAND: Education in the Province of Quebec 209
OLIVER: The Country school in non-English-speaking communities in Saskatchewan 211
DUGAS: Gerbes de souvenirs 211
GOSSELIN: France et Canada (in Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.) 211
HUGOLIN: Inventaire des travaux, etc., concernant la tempérance
HUGOLIN: Les Franciscains et la croisade antialcoolique dans la province de Québec 212
PARKER: Guide to the documents in the Manuscript Room at the Public Archives of Canada 213
BÉDARD: Traduction des noms géographiques (in Le Parler Français) 213
BRIEF BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CANADIAN HISTORY 214

REVIEW OF

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

1. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA TO THE EMPIRE

The British Empire. Six Lectures. By Sir Charles P. Lucas. London: The Macmillan Company, 1915. Pp. 250.

Sir Charles Lucas, whose long experience at the Colonial Office makes him a leading authority on the history of the British Empire, gives in these pregnant lectures a sketch of its development that may well become a text-book in colleges. In the first three chapters he traces the history of English dominion from the early Roman days to the 18th century. The remaining three chapters cover the age of Queen Victoria, a survey of the Empire at the present day, and a most interesting discussion of the "Meaning and Use of Empire". Sir Charles Lucas is not unaware of the misunderstanding of the term "Empire", which carries with it a suggestion of despotic rule. The term British Empire, however, he says, "connotes British liberty". Probably the author speaks too often of the English rather than of the British Empire; but this is a minor fault. He is always accurate and, while he is never flamboyant he is at the same time convinced of the vital service of the Empire to mankind. "There is no cant or hypocrisy in the view that all peoples have their work to do in the world and that the English are one of the races to whom overseas work has been allotted" (p. 235).

Probably the first overseas Parliament in the British Empire was that of Barbados, established in the 17th century. It is, however, in the temperate zone that the great self-governing parts of the Empire have developed. "The Empire is a gigantic wholesale business under British management". There is no attempt at or even desire for uniformity. The Australian, the Canadian and the Englishman represent

different types destined steadily to become more marked. In their politics, responsible government has always meant party government and the subordination of the executive power to the legislature. Canada is "a strongly-bound confederation". Australia is a "loose confederation" with a powerful second chamber. South Africa is a union, not a federation. Sir Charles is rash when he says that "neither in South Africa nor in Canada has the vote been given to women" (p. 172). Events move rapidly in these days. The vote has just been given to women in Manitoba.

Sir Charles Lucas has a deep admiration for Lord Durham's Report, and certainly no one has given it closer study. Lord Durham was the first statesman of high cabinet rank in England to cross the ocean in order to investigate colonial conditions on the spot. Sir Charles thinks that the present-day success of rule in the dependencies is due to the careful training of officials who are highly paid and who make ruling a profession. Such men belong to a superior class and have traditions of justice and fair play. The system has developed a fine indifference to routine and rigidity. There is no undue interference and a broad tolerance has developed in respect to differences of race, language and creed. It is only human that in saying these things Sir Charles should draw a contrast with the different aims of German "Kultur".

It is a pregnant saying that the progress of civilization is due to migration and the intrusion of one people upon another. Sir Charles Lucas draws up a list of the motives that have led to British migration: the enterprise of a seafaring people; the wish for gain; the search for political and religious liberty denied at home; philanthropy aiming at the welfare of suffering peoples; the desire for a new home; the seeking of security at home by striking enemies abroad; "the necessity of going forward", causing in India the development of a trading settlement into a great empire. "The Empire has not been made so much as it has grown". This may be taken to give the key to a book full of vital thought on British Imperialism.

Democracy and the Nations, by Dr. J. A. Macdonald (Toronto: S. B. Gundy; pp. 244), is for the most part a volume of addresses which are connected and supplemented by chapters written in the manner of addresses. Much of the book deals with the history and political principles of the United States. Canada, in the author's scheme, figures as a kind of junior partner to the United States in upholding and developing the principles of individual liberty and democratic government. Out of that partnership arises a new principle called by the author "internationalism", which in spite of its high-sounding name appears to be nothing else than the friendly and peaceable relationship subsisting between the two countries, and this hardly requires a special name. There is not much argument. The main theses are presented, and are illustrated by historical instances, and a good deal of repetition is inevitable. The author very rightly describes the gradual evolution of Canada from colonial dependence to political self-sufficiency as a great and unprecedented achievement, and he also truly says that the transformation was not effected suddenly or even in a single generation. So little is Canada's present political status understood abroad that not only in Germany but also in the United States, says the author, it is thought that compulsion by Great Britain must account for Canada's participation in the present war. If Dr. Macdonald's addresses were directed to dispelling this illusion alone they would be well worth while. In his insistence upon the fact that Canada is a nation, independent of British control in all except name, Dr. Macdonald is inclined to paint too black a picture of the previous condition of affairs. It is idle to talk of "despotism" in connection with the control exercised by the British Colonial Secretary over Canadian administration prior to 1840. Again, although the change introduced by Confederation and the British North America Act was almost entirely a change in the internal administration and the relationship of the provinces to one another, yet Dr. Macdonald in some passages uses words that would lead a foreigner or one unacquainted with Canadian history

to suppose that responsible government had been acquired then for the first time in the history of the country. No doubt oratory is responsible for some of the misleading expressions, but when the oratory becomes reduced to cold print faulty or misleading statements should be corrected. Dr. Macdonald shies at the name "British Empire" because Empire has in the past signified absolutism and centralization of power. To be logical he ought to be just as much afraid of the word democracy. This is attaching too much importance to words which, as everybody knows, change their meaning from generation to generation with the utmost facility. It is also at variance with British custom to care so much for what a thing is called. The King's Privy Council has retained its imposing name, although no longer a council at all. The Cabinet exercises all the functions of government and everybody knows that it does so, and yet it has not been thought worth while to change the meaningless designation with which it began its career. In the same manner there is no uncertainty in the minds of most people as to what the British Empire actually stands for at the present day. A new name would possibly be more accurate—for a few years, but it would arouse no new enthusiasm, and the picturesque and historic associations of the old name would be lost.

When M. Henri Bourassa asks *Que devons-nous à l'Angleterre?* (Montreal; pp. 420) he would like to give the answer "Rien". The volume covers the substance of what M. Bourassa has been saying in his newspaper *Le Devoir*. He is copious, for the ample pages contain about a quarter of a million words. The thesis supported is that imperialism for Canada means chiefly its necessary participation in the wars of Great Britain, which would involve conscription and the destruction of all distinctive nationality in the Dominion. M. Bourassa wishes each part of the British Empire to look after its own defence. We confess to a certain impatience at his urging this view at a time when nothing but pooling all the military resources of the Empire will

save it. But M. Bourassa has the right to his own opinions. He has three long sections, "La Défense Nationale", "La Révolution Impérialiste" and "Le Tribut à l'Empire". It would be vain to deny to him either ability or industry, however much we may think him lacking in good taste. His "Pièces Justificatives" are, like his text, copious. He is not an historian but an advocate. His writings are only journalism, but in the book he has collected practically everything he has ever written or spoken against imperialism and for nationalism. With this antagonism in his mind he has searched the political records of Canada and he gathers together the results. The part of the book that has real value is made up of reprints of various official papers since the date of the conquest. These begin with the Ordinance of 1777 regulating the militia, which is followed by other regulations before and during the Union. Then follows a section dealing with military preparations during the Crimean War, and M. Bourassa is delighted to find that the British Government then considered that the militia of Canada should be used only to repel invasion. Canada, indeed, was to have three British regiments to aid in its defence. He follows with the debates in 1862 when the French-Canadian members drove Sir George Cartier from office because he wished to increase the militia in view of the war in the United States. In a similar manner he shows what was the attitude of Canada in regard to defence at and after Confederation. During the South African War, at the Colonial Conference of 1902, and during the debates on aid to the navy he is able to find two things, one that Canada was free to do what she liked, the other that Canada was in danger of being drawn into something like militarism. He ends with a resounding extract from Mr. John S. Ewart's *Kingdom Papers* stating that Canada owes nothing like "gratitude" to Great Britain. And all this when Canadians and Englishmen are fighting side by side and dying to save liberty in the world!

In No. 20 of Mr. John S. Ewart's *Kingdom Papers*, entitled *Capture at sea, contraband, blockade*, which is dated just before the outbreak of the war, Mr. Ewart considers how Canadian interests are likely to be affected by a war and what measure of protection they require. Some of his most confident statements have been contradicted by the events of the eighteen months that have elapsed since he wrote them. For instance: "If war broke out to-morrow with Germany, no British warship would chase a German commerce-destroyer", therefore, says Mr. Ewart, Canada has no reason to subscribe towards maintaining a strong British navy, *q. e. d.*

The Battle Glory of Canada, by A. B. Tucker (Toronto: Cassell; pp. x, 168) is an account of the work of the first Canadian Expeditionary Force during the present war. Mr. Tucker has made an interesting book. At the outset he describes the fatuous belief of Germany that United States troops would invade Canada on the outbreak of the war, that the Canadians would gladly welcome these "deliverers", and that the tie of Canada with Britain would be broken. The book covers an account of the camp at Valcartier, the tragic story of the regiment named after Princess Patricia, and the story of trench warfare and the baptism of fire at Ypres when the Germans broke the line for a brief time by the use of deadly gases. The Canadian casualties up to the time the book was compiled in May, 1915, were 6,584. The grim list has been lengthened since. The volume consists chiefly of personal experiences and these can be indefinitely multiplied. We hope that the task of collecting such material is being properly looked after so that in time an adequate history of Canada's part in the war may be written. Meanwhile it is a new development that a most vital phase of Canadian history is being recorded on battlefields in Europe.

In these days of war, when a week is crowded with events that would ordinarily fill a year, it is a long time

since 1914 and the speeches on *Canada at war* (Ottawa, 1914; pp. 32), of the Prime Minister of Canada delivered at the end of that year before the Canadian Clubs seem remote. On August 1, three days before war broke out, the Prime Minister sent a cable to the British Government offering a Canadian Expeditionary Force. The offer was accepted on August 6 and on that day recruiting began. Four weeks later the Prime Minister visited the camp at Valcartier and was astounded at what had been done. There was a rifle range with many targets; a water supply had been created; an electric light and power system had been installed; six large buildings had been put up for stores; a sewage system, hospitals for men and horses and many other things were in operation; and thirty-five thousand men were drilling. Speaking then Sir Robert Borden thought that the Dominions might equip 250,000 men for the war; now, early in 1916, Canada alone has some 300,000 men under arms and aims to have 500,000. All this rapid movement is instructive to the historian. The Prime Minister has read carefully and his dignified and restrained speeches are worthy of his position.

Mr. Haydon's *Canada and the War* (Bristol: Arrowsmith; pp. 90) is a popular summary of events during the days when Canada was sending the first contingents to England. Some of its statistics are useful. The estimate that Canada's wheat crop of 1914 would supply some forty-four million people with food for a year is certainly startling and also reassuring.

Professor O. D. Skelton, in *Canada in War-time* (Political Quarterly, May; pp. 58-69) draws attention to some of the difficulties in Canada in the way of a united sentiment in favour of the war measures undertaken. The German and Austrian settlements in the western provinces are still undigested. Even in the large cities there is the tendency for immigrants of each foreign nation to herd together in blocks or wards. Among the French-Canadians the small group of extreme Nationalists, headed by M. Bourassa, is

not silent. On the other hand, political parties have been more or less quiescent since the war began. The author also summarizes the economic position, and the steps taken by the Dominion and provincial governments to raise their revenues.

Mr. Edward Porritt, who has made special and prolonged studies in Canadian affairs, gives in *Canada in War Time* in the *Edinburgh Review* (July, 1915, pp. 186-203) a picture of the political and economic life of Canada during the first months of the war. Mr. Porritt furnishes useful statistics as to soldiers overseas, separation allowances, and the general economic condition of the country which was not very favourable when the war broke out.

In the Reverend Charles W. Squires' book *Münsterberg and militarism checked* (Toronto: William Briggs; pp. 241) there is a chapter on the attitude of Canada at the outbreak of the war and the part which the country has taken in the prosecution of it. It includes a rhetorical and impassioned account of the battle of Langemarck.

With the first Canadian Contingent (Toronto and London: Hodder & Stoughton; pp. 120) is largely made up of letters from soldiers and officers at the front, descriptive of the conditions prevailing there. It is copiously illustrated with excellent photographs.

II. THE HISTORY OF CANADA

The So-called Mythical Islands of the Atlantic in Mediaeval Maps. By William H. Babcock. (Scottish Geographical Magazine, May, June, July and August 1915, pp. 261-269, 315-320, 360-377 and 411-422.)

In a series of articles in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* (which are an elaboration of Section iii of the same author's *Early Norse Visits to North America* issued by the Smithsonian Institution in 1913) Mr. Babcock, while admitting that "with the exception of the Norsemen and of Christopher Columbus, no European is known to have reached any part of America before 1493", yet supports his opinion that "many features of very early maps at least point that way". He here attempts "to follow these elusive shapes into the twilight of the history of the shores and seas". The articles consist of a study of the three islands of Brazil, Daculi and St. Brandan. Deriving Brazil from the Irish *breas* prince and *ail* noble, and recalling the mediaeval belief in a Great Ireland towards the west, Mr. Babcock imagines that the form given on the early maps to the island of Brazil can be discerned in "the projecting elbow of North America immediately surrounding the Gulf of St. Lawrence and made up by southern Labrador, New Brunswick, the neighbouring corner of Maine, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton island and Newfoundland" (p. 365). He therefore concludes "that Newfoundland and neighbouring shores were visited very early by Irish-speaking people; that the name Brazil, given by them, adhered permanently, though it did not become exclusive, since it was also shared by Terceira; that the dyes of the latter island became associated with the name, which accordingly might be applied wherever red dye-wood might be found; that the original Brazil was brought back eastward on the maps to the neighbourhood of Ireland, but afterwards carried over to Newfoundland and finally set in the middle of the Atlantic, and that it

vanished from the maps about the middle of the nineteenth century" (p. 368). Mr. Babcock can, however, "give no good guess as to the date of the supposed visit which supplied an Irish name" to Newfoundland.

These conclusions are certainly novel, but one doubts their soundness. Admitting with Mr. Babcock that "any earnest effort to fill out the human record must have some lasting value", it is surely not too much to expect that this earnest effort should be directed by some sort of scientific method. To pretend, for instance, that "an unknown navigator supplied data to Sylvanus" (p. 366) and that his map of 1511 "is a sketch of Newfoundland, the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the shore-land behind the latter" (p. 319) is to exhibit a misconception of these early maps as complete as could possibly be formed.

Harrisse first invented the theory that every coast-line in the region of our present Newfoundland must be our present Newfoundland and nothing else, in spite of the fact that on maps like those of Salvat de Pilestrina and Reinel the latitude of this coast runs up to 58° and 60°. Mr. Babcock has swallowed whole this Harrisse fallacy. To him therefore the Cantino map shows only "far out at sea a forested Newfoundland" (p. 319).

A re-examination of these early maps, especially of Ribero's, will convince Mr. Babcock that our present Newfoundland is never represented by itself but, even on the Ruysch map, invariably forms part of a larger coast which embraces a considerable extent of our present Labrador. In stating also that "the great island marked Labrador" on the Kunstman No. 2 map is "perhaps" our Greenland (p. 319), Mr. Babcock shows an ignorance of the fact that only on one map between, say, 1500 and 1540 is Greenland ever called Greenland. On all the others it is invariably named Labrador. In view of these considerations it will be well perhaps not to accept too hastily his new conclusions regarding the island of Brazil.

As to the other two islands, Mr. Babcock identifies Daculi with St. Kilda, while Madeira he thinks "has the best

prima facie claim to be considered the chief island of St. Brandan" (p. 417). Paul Gaffarel's *Histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique avant Christophe Colomb* (Paris, 1892) treated these questions fully and very little fresh light has since been thrown on them.

The problem of the location of Vinland still occupies the attention of historical students. In a paper entitled *The Natural History of ancient Vinland and its geographic significance* (Bulletin of the American Geographic Society, September, pp. 686-7) Professor M. L. Fernald reiterates his contention, based on a study of the natural history of the Vinland of the sagas, that efforts to establish the location of Vinland "should be concentrated on the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland, the region of the Straits of Belle Isle, and the region of Hamilton Inlet". He does not add very much, however, to the argument elaborated in his *Plants of Wineland the Good*. A more ambitious discussion of the subject is to be found in Mr. W. A. Munn's pamphlet *The Location of Helluland, Markland, and Wineland from the Icelandic Sagas* (St. Johns, Newfoundland, 1914; pp. 26). Mr. Munn, relying mainly on a local knowledge of Newfoundland and Labrador, comes to the conclusion that Wineland was in the neighbourhood of the Straits of Belle Isle. Indeed, there is hardly a place mentioned in the sagas which he is not able to identify. Much of his argument is ingenious, but it will hardly carry conviction. As Dr. Fridtjof Nansen has shown, the mythical element in the sagas is such that any reliance can hardly be placed in the details of their story; and even if the details of the sagas were trustworthy, the climatic and geographical conditions must have changed so greatly in a thousand years along the Labrador coast that any attempt to identify the places mentioned in the sagas must be to-day a very hazardous proceeding.

Historical geography is coming to its own. The "Cambridge Travel Books" are intended "to illustrate the history of geographical discovery by means of select voyages and

travels". What appears to be the first volume of the series is *The North-West and North-East Passages 1576-1611*, edited by Philip F. Alexander of Hertford College, Oxford (Cambridge: The University Press; pp. xx, 211). After a brief Introduction which is followed by a useful table of important dates in the history of discovery, there is a reprint of contemporary accounts of early efforts in what is now the far north of Canada. These include the first two voyages of Frobisher (nothing is said of the third voyage), the three voyages of Davis, and Hudson's last voyage (here too nothing is said of Hudson's earlier voyage to the far north). While all that is here, with much more on the subject, is to be found in the publications of the Hakluyt Society, the little book is valuable for use in colleges and schools, for it gives in convenient and inexpensive form the original records on a fascinating subject. There are some excellent maps and illustrations.

The History of New France. By Marc Lescarbot. With an English Translation, Notes and Appendices, by W. L. Grant, and an Introduction by H. P. Biggar. Volume III. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1915. Pp. 555.

This volume contains Books V and VI of Lescarbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, completing the Champlain Society's edition, of which Volume I (likewise the first of the Champlain Society's growing series of stately publications) appeared in 1907 and Volume II in 1911. The importance of Lescarbot in early Canadian, especially Acadian, history needs no emphasis. He is a source which will never lose its authority, and a classic which will never lose its charm. Accordingly we must all share in common a deep satisfaction that the work is now complete and accessible in so good and thoroughly annotated a translation as Professor Grant and Mr. Biggar have given us, and in the beautiful form which the Champlain Society provides in its volumes.

Book V of Lescarbot is relatively short, merely describing from hearsay the events which occurred in New France

between Lescarbot's departure in 1607 and the time of the publication of his book in 1617-18. The synopsis of Champlain's voyages in Canada contains nothing new, but the accounts of Poutrincourt's voyages to Acadia, of the baptism of the Indians at Port Royal by Father Fleché, of the attempt to establish a Jesuit mission at Mount Desert, and of Argal's raid contain many valuable details derived through Poutrincourt from participants in those occurrences. Especially is the account of the events in which the Jesuits had part important as a corrective to Father Biard's naturally partisan views expressed in his *Relations*. The book closes appropriately with the epitaph of Lescarbot's friend Poutrincourt, the manner of whose death (in a local military squabble), as revealed in two documents printed in the appendix, is pathetically incongruous with the lofty character and disinterested motives which characterize his entire connection with Acadian affairs.

Book VI, which occupies most of this volume, competes in value as an original source with Book IV, wherein Lescarbot sets forth his own personal knowledge of the men and events which made the earlier history of Acadia. In this later book, in a series of synoptical and orderly chapters, he describes the Micmac Indians as he saw them near Port Royal at a time when they were still comparatively unchanged by European influence. Lescarbot, indeed, was the first competent writer thus to know and describe them, and, having no motive except to depict them as they were, his account will always rank among the most important of the foundations of our knowledge of those people. In succession he describes their birth customs, mode of giving names, nurture of children, religion, medicine men, language (where he preserves an invaluable, even though brief and somewhat misprinted, vocabulary), dress, physique, ornaments, marriage, banquets, dances and songs, health, occupations of the men and of the women, civility (in the broad sense), virtues and vices, hunting both of beasts and of birds, fishery, use of the soil and its products, war, and mortuary customs. In these chapters he also embodies many obser-

vations upon plants, animals, and other matters of local interest, while he constantly embellishes the narrative with his usual historical allusions and parallelisms,—a part of his book which obviously had higher value in its author's eyes than it has proved to possess for us. In the annotations to these chapters Professor Grant has enlisted the competent aid of Professor W. F. Ganong, who has studied the localities thoroughly and whose insight and accuracy are beyond praise.

After the translation there follows the usual reprint of the original, a full reprint of Lescarbot's *Muses*, and several appendices, including a list of Lescarbot's works.

The translation, as in the case of the preceding volumes, is not only unexceptionable, but also admirable in every respect. Indeed, in this essential feature Lescarbot has been fortunate, for the charm of the original has been fully kept without detriment to the meaning. Every phase of the editing shows skilled and careful hands.

To only a few features can the most captious critic take exception. We regret that the *Muses* were not translated as well as reprinted, for they are worth it, and lacking such translation the work falls somewhat short of completeness. Again, we do not understand why the very interesting chapter headings of the original are all omitted. Then we miss an expected list of *errata* to the earlier volumes, in which the reviewers have pointed out some slight errors and infelicities, very insignificant indeed, but worth noting in the effort to be complete. Our only real grievance, however, is with the map of New France at the end. Instead of illustrating Lescarbot's New France, as would naturally be expected, the map belongs to a later century and covers a territory of which Lescarbot's region is only an insignificant part, and that mostly erroneous in details when these are present at all. The publishers have somewhat thriftily reprinted the map from Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, apparently under hypnotic suggestion of the word NEW FRANCE in its title, for the map has no other connection whatever with Lescarbot.

The Founder of New France. By Charles W. Colby. (The Chronicles of Canada.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Co., 1915. Pp. 158.

Professor Colby contributes to *The Chronicles of Canada* a sketch of the life of Champlain, written in that pleasant conversational style of which he is a master. The book makes no pretence at originality other than of style, but it is a good summary of the latest results of research, though after all these do little more than dot a few of the i's and cross a few of the t's in the story told once for all by Parkman.

Though in such a book, intended in the main for a youthful audience, Professor Colby has wisely avoided controversy, we could wish that he had at least touched on some of the limitations of Champlain. Though a good geographer, a great explorer, a man of untainted honour and purity of motive, he was not a colonizer. Professor Colby well says that Coligny and Raleigh were "the first to point out that agriculture not mines is the true basis of a colony" (p. 14). He rather cursorily admits that Lescarbot "had many correct ideas—notably the belief that corn, wine and cattle are a better foundation for a colony than gold or silver mines". But he breathes no word of the almost utter inability of Champlain to rise to such a height of common sense. It was Champlain who chose the disastrous site at St. Croix. From 1608 to 1617 not a genuine settler arrived at Quebec. Had Champlain been a true colonizer, and not a blend of geographer, fur-trader and soldier of the cross he could easily have brought out a few thrifty farmers from Normandy or Picardy, even if we admit that the selfish greed of the fur traders and the religious orthodoxy of the court would have prevented him from making of New France a Virginia or a New England. But his eyes were ever set on the road to the South Sea, on conquest or on conversion, and, though he had a love of gardening not uncommon in old soldiers, he had little if any conception of the necessity of having self-supporting colonists as a requisite of successful colonization. Like all the books in the series,

Professor Colby's work is admirably printed and illustrated, the frontispiece by Mr. C. W. Jefferys being especially vigorous.

W. L. G.

La Sépulture d'Etienne Brulé, by M. Jules Tremblay (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Series iii, Vol. ix, Sect. i, pp. 145-164) is a detailed study based chiefly on Sagard and the Jesuit Relations of the causes of the death and of the place of burial of this pioneer *coureur de bois*. M. Tremblay fixes the date of Brulé's execution by the Hurons as 1633, not, as often stated, 1632. He was executed by judgment of a Huron council for treasonable conduct which endangered the good relations of the French and the Hurons. The incident throws some light on Huron modes of trial and punishment. The savages tortured the unfortunate man, then killed him, burned the body and buried the bones. The point of M. Tremblay's study is that he is certain that excavations at a point which he indicates precisely in the township of Tiny, Simcoe County, Ontario, would result in the discovery of the remains of Brulé.

Dr. John Finley, the author of *The French in the Heart of America* (New York: Scribner; pp. xi, 431) is President of the University of the State of New York, and was an exchange lecturer in France where the substance of this book was given in lectures. The motive of the book is really to throw light upon the history of the French in the Mississippi valley and on the marvellous growth in modern times of that region. There are, however, three chapters at the beginning covering the gradual advance of the French by way of the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, and these have some slight interest for the history of Canada. The author has a profound admiration for the historian Parkman and for the heroic industry which enabled him during an invalid life to write the copious and fascinating story of the drama of New France. Mr. Finley has travelled to places of interest

in the life of the French pioneers, to St. Malo, to Brouage, to the site of the old French settlement at Port Royal in Nova Scotia, and to the scenes of French effort in the Mississippi region. There is no research in this and its value consists in these few personal observations by the author. He is not always accurate. We hardly recognize J. R. Green, the historian of the English people, under the name of "Richard Henry Greene" (p. 119): nor is it certain that Verazzano visited the points where now stand New York and Newport.

Les Franciscains et le Canada. Volume I. *L'Etablissement de la foi 1615-1629.* Par le R. P. Odoric-Marie Jouve, o.f.m. Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionaire, 1915. Pp. xviii, 506.

For fifteen years Father Jouve has devoted his life to the history of the first missionaries in Canada, the Recollets. These friars, aided by the Jesuits whom they invited to join them in 1625, laid the foundations of the Christian faith in New France. The original Jesuit Relations have made the work of the Jesuits better known than is that of the Recollets. During the last fifty years Jesuit writers have, in addition, published much about the missions of their order. On the work of the Recollets we have only such earlier writings as Le Clercq, *Le Premier Etablissement de la Foy* and *La Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspésie*, Sagard's *Histoire du Canada* and his *Voyage au Pays des Hurons*, Hennepin's *Découverte du Mississippi* and some minor works all of them now rather scarce. During the last two centuries practically nothing else has appeared. There are few manuscripts relating to the Recollets and these are widely scattered in Canada, in France and elsewhere. The history of the Recollets remained to be written and to this task Father Jouve has devoted himself since 1900. He is a Franciscan, not a Recollet (for the Recollets have been absorbed into the Franciscan order) and he has devoted himself heart and soul to his task, making sure of documentary authority for all that he says. Already he has published a

number of monographs and this, his last volume and the first of a new series, is the most important and considerable of his works.

The present work is, in effect, the history of both the civil and the religious foundation of the French colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence. The author has used manuscript and printed sources already known but also new manuscript material and we have to thank him for printing some of this in full. For instance, we have an appeal to the Pope by the Superior-General of the Franciscans and a brief in response by Pope Paul V dated May 26, 1615, showing that the holy father then committed the evangelization of Canada definitely to the Recollets. The author has consulted the documents at Rome in the Archives of the Vatican. These are not, however, the only new sources he has tapped. He gives us in full the hitherto unknown narrative which Father Denis Jamet addressed from Quebec to the Cardinal de Joyeuse, in France, July 15, 1615, on Canada, its savages and their manners. This document of first importance was discovered in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris in the "Collection des Cinq-Cents" of Colbert.

To sum up, we may say that, thanks to the labours of Father Jouve, we now have reconstructed with sufficient exactness the history of the establishment of the faith in Canada from 1615 to 1629. We can follow the first missionaries in all their journeys among the savage tribes as far as the Great Lakes; we take part in the founding of the first chapel at Quebec and in the joint action of the Recollets and Champlain in ensuring the success, in spiritual and civil matters alike, of the new-born colony; we find the Recollets the first school-masters in Canada and also the first martyrs for the faith. In a word they laid on the banks of the St. Lawrence the foundations of the Catholic Church. They were not able, alas, to rear the majestic edifice. In 1629 Quebec fell into the hands of the brothers Kirke and the Recollets had to recross the ocean; only in 1670 were they able to return to Canada, to take up again their work. It is at this point that will begin, without doubt, the second

volume of Father Jouve. May it appear soon! Meanwhile he is completing the history in two volumes of the Recollets in the region about Three Rivers and is also preparing a biographical list of all the Recollet pioneers in Canada, epoch-making work because of its rich and exact documentation.

It should be added that the publication in 1915 of the volume under review was the fitting prelude to the celebrations begun in that year, and to be ended in 1916, of the three hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the faith in Canada by the Recollets. This year, 1916, will see erected in the Place d'Armes at Quebec on the exact site of the former Recollet monastery, burnt in 1796, an elaborate monument to commemorate the planting of the faith in Canada.

P. HUGOLIN o.f.m. (translated)

We reviewed the third and last volume of Father Campbell's *Pioneer Priests of North America* in 1912 (Vol. XVI, p. 34) and now he has completed the first volume of a series on *Pioneer Laymen of North America* (New York: The American Press; pp. xvii, 287). These are Jacques Cartier, Pedro Menendez, Samuel Champlain (why, by the way, does not Father Campbell give to Champlain the prefix of nobility to which he is entitled?), Charles de la Tour, Maisonneuve, Charles Le Moyne, and Pierre Esprit Radisson. All but Menendez have some relation to Canada. The book is dedicated to the President of the United States Catholic Historical Society. Father Campbell writes with a purpose, and is under the suspicion which falls upon the historian who has something to prove. He is always a Catholic and he gives many a dig to men such as Parkman and Kingsford who, he thinks, fail to appreciate his own ecclesiastical system. He contrasts Cartier's mildness to the natives with the ruthless cruelty, as he considers it, of the Protestants Hawkins and Drake. If the Spanish were cruel to Protestants so were the English to Catholics under Henry VIII. Of course he champions the rights of the ex-

pelled Acadians since they were Catholics. He scorns Lescarbot because he is not a good enough Catholic. In spite of all this Father Campbell's work has some value. It furnishes no evidence of research, for his list of authorities consists almost wholly of secondary material. The sketch of Radisson, "a persistent rover", is useful, though Father Campbell does not claim even to have read that trader's own account of his rovings published by the Prince Society. The book gives evidence of defective literary care. When Father Campbell means "galleys" he says "gallows" (p. 253). This defect is in part compensated for by a certain virility and originality of thought. If Father Campbell would be rigorous with himself he could become an excellent historian. But no real historian can undertake to write either Catholic or Protestant history. It is the theologians who do that.

Quaint and Historic Forts of North America, by John Martin Hammond (Philadelphia: Lippincott; pp. xiv, 389) is a big book, nicely illustrated and bound, and printed on heavy paper. Besides accounts of old forts in the United States and in Cuba it includes brief notices of Louisbourg, Quebec, Annapolis Royal and Halifax within the borders of Canada. The author has visited many of the places he describes and the illustrations are excellent. The letter press is, however, very bad. Poutrincourt, Seigneur at Port Royal, becomes "Potrincourt"; Sir William Alexander, founder of the order of Baronets of Nova Scotia, becomes Sir William "Mackenzie", Lescarbot's Ordre du Bon Temps becomes the "Ordre de la Bon Temps", St. Croix island becomes a "boundary line", and the name Annapolis Royal "the royal city of Anne" becomes "Annapolis Port Royal" which the author ingeniously explains as an amalgamation of its French name and its English name. One need say no more as to the historical value of an attractive-looking book. The author has gone to no original sources.

The Sovereign Council of New France. By Raymond Du Bois Cahall. (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law.) New York: 1915. Pp. 274.

It has become the fashion of some Canadian reviewers to assume a supercilious attitude toward anything that bears the tag of a Ph. D. thesis, particularly if it comes from the press of some university across the border. Perhaps the Teutonic origin of the doctoral dissertation accounts in part for this propensity; perhaps it is mere provincialism; more probably it is the outcropping of a popular impatience with anything called history which is not also literature. At any rate, we are reminded that these productions are lacking in "insight" or in "imagination", or in something equally indefinable, although in the same breath they are sometimes admitted to be comprehensive, accurate and the fruit of much discriminating labour. They add "a new terror" to the life of the general historian, we are told, for he must wade through whole piles of these monographs to find out what pet historical generalizations of his younger days have been ruthlessly bowled over.

The fact is, nevertheless, that many of these monographs perform a useful and enduring service. Some of the most praiseworthy work that is being done in the field of Canadian history to-day is going between the covers of these much maligned dissertations. Their writers start with a modest topic, they subject to a careful scrutiny all the source material bearing upon it, and they have the saving grace of stating facts as they are, without any straining of the truth for the sake of literary embellishment. The historian of the future will find these studies of real value; for they will lighten his drudgery, not add to it.

Now Dr. Cahall's volume is a Ph. D. thesis, with all that such designation may imply to those who sit in the seat of the scornful. It is an intensive study of the great council at Quebec from its establishment in 1663 to the close of its work in 1759, well proportioned, logically arranged, a humdrum performance if you will. Three chapters are

devoted to a history of the council, its early weakness, its rise to a dominating place in the civil administration of the colony, and its general influence during the first half of the eighteenth century. The remainder of the book is allotted to a survey of the council as an organ of government, of its membership at different periods, of its procedure, ceremonial, committees and records, of its functions as a court, and of its work as an administrative body. Every phase of its activity is examined at first hand. The author's main reliance has been, of course, upon the council's own *Jugements et Délibérations*, every page of which he has dissected with unremitting industry. But the *Correspondance Générale* has also yielded much useful data, and so has the *Collection Moreau de St. Méry*. The writer keeps his feet upon firm ground at all points, and in the great majority of cases has given in his footnotes not merely a reference to his source of information but the supporting quotations from it.

While the book presents nothing that will revolutionize our current notions as to what the Sovereign Council really did in the way of helping to administer the affairs of New France, its various chapters straighten out many things upon which the popular historical mind has hitherto been rather muddled; they add illuminating details to other things which have been known only in a general way; and they fill in some gaps where we have heretofore known next to nothing at all. Dr. Cahall's chief service, in fact, has been that of drawing together a great many loose ends, putting them where they ought to be, and setting before us a sober portrayal of the council as it really was. The idea that it was a petulant body which spent its energies in waspish squabbles over points of precedence has spread far. Parkman first gave vogue to this misrepresentation, and it has filtered its way into nearly all the general histories of Canada. Yet in the ninety-six years of steady work on the part of the council, these bickerings play after all a relatively small part. One need only follow the long record of substantial achievements which Dr. Cahall sets forth in the latter half of his book to realize that hundreds of council meetings must have been

devoted to nothing but concerted and harmonious labour. Year after year it met each Monday morning, and often its sessions lasted through the entire day. Its manuscript records of deliberation fill seventy volumes; the edicts which it registered occupy eleven more. On the vast majority of its decisions the members were unanimous. Absence of harmony was the exception, not the rule.

Within the limits which he has imposed upon himself, the author has done a commendable piece of research. He has been handicapped somewhat by the lack of an adequate background, for his studies in early Canadian history have gone no further than this theme has taken him; on the other hand, he has had the advantage of approaching his subject with no preconceived ideas or bias. Uniform rules as to the spelling of proper names would have spared the book some blemishes, yet it may be added that no one is ever likely to spell these names more variously than did the original possessors themselves. Readers of a diacritical temperament will also find much to nettle them in the unconcern with which the French accents have been distributed. The rhetoric leaves something to be desired, perhaps, but that shortcoming might be forgiven in a book of this sort if the author had not put it forth upon a busy world without even the semblance of an index.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

The increasing interest which is being shown in the institutional and administrative aspects of Canadian history gives timeliness to the valuable list of *Les Conseillers au Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France* which has been prepared by M.P.-G. Roy (Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., series iii, vol. ix, sect. i, pp. 173-187). The names of all councillors, so far as known, are given, with dates of nomination, installation, term of office, etc., and any biographical information of interest. For the nominations specific references are made to the Register of the "Insinuations du Conseil Souverain", preserved in Quebec, of which a copy is available in the Public Archives in Ottawa.

Church and State in Early Canada. By Mack Eastman. Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1915. Pp. ix, 301.

Much has been written on the relations of the ecclesiastical and lay officials in New France, but far too much of it has been about the bickerings and hostility of these two great factors in the early history of Canada. Quarrels of relatively little account have been magnified out of all proportion, while the decades in which the two authorities worked loyally together have sometimes been passed over without a word. Professor Eastman's study is of a different sort. He has not merely rewritten the familiar chronicle of clashes between governor and bishop, which often echoed out into the wilderness, stirring up trouble between men of their own race and religion. His aim has been to trace every move of the two authorities in all the varied fields of colonial activity, from first to last, setting forth the facts just as he finds them, with no attempt to analyse motives or to apportion the blame when things went wrong.

The book is based throughout on a painstaking study of the sources and in large part upon the manuscript materials in the *Correspondance Générale du Canada.* No previous writer on any branch of the subject has used these documents more extensively or to better advantage. The quotations from the giant folios are numerous, and they are also, for the most part, both apt and interesting. The arrangement of the volume is chronological, the entire period from 1611 to 1760 being divided into nine epochs of varying length, each of which is dealt with in a separate chapter. Within each chapter, however, the discussion is grouped by outstanding topics, with such things as the tithes, Indian politics, the fur trade, and the *eau-de-vie* question coming prominently to the front. This plan has its defects, of course, in that the continuity of the narrative must be broken frequently; but from the nature of the subject it is doubtful if any other scheme would have better served the ends of clearness. Some of the discussions are not well rounded; much is often said on things that are not of great importance, while, occasionally, one would like to know more on various

points than the writer has given us. But all this is merely because Dr. Eastman has clung steadfastly to trustworthy materials and has not been willing to take things at second hand.

The author's conclusions on the brandy question are worth emphasis, for although we have often had pronouncements of the same general tenor from the clerical writers of Canadian history, these are the results reached by one who has no native bias and who apparently has been influenced by nothing but the evidence:

"From the standpoint of the aborigines the brandy trade was an unmitigated curse. . . . Clearly the immediate profits from the fur trade were greater when brandy was used as an article of barter . . . [but] the reflex influence of the traffic upon the traders was baneful in the extreme. . . . On the whole we may safely say that the Indian liquor traffic was bad even for the French colony. . . . The solution of the problem could be achieved only by . . . an international agreement between France and England for the limitation of the export of spirituous liquors to the minimum required by the colonists themselves. Denonville alone seems to have suggested the feasibility of such a far-reaching measure" (pp. 291-2).

As for the oft repeated statement that the missionaries probably opposed the *coureurs de bois* because they wanted to have a share in the Indian trade for their own profit, Dr. Eastman shows that this allegation never had a shred of real evidence in its support.

In style the author has his own individuality and is not afraid to give it full scope; yet on the whole he has let the records tell their own story, leaving the reader to supply the comments which many writers would have been tempted to furnish themselves. The style is far better than that of the usual postgraduate thesis; in typography, presswork and proofreading the volume is incomparably better. There is a good bibliography, but an index should also have been included.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

M. Benjamin Sulte publishes one of his solid contributions to Canadian history, *La Noblesse au Canada avant 1914* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, ser. iii, vol. viii, sect. i., pp. 103-135). The title is rather too comprehensive as the actual paper deals only with the French

period ending in 1760. But up to that date M. Sulte's researches appear to be fairly exhaustive, and he has investigated the origin and career of every patented noble whom the existing records show to have spent a portion of his life as a colonist or official in Canada. Patents of nobility under the old régime in France were subject to vicissitudes. They might lapse by not being renewed by the sovereign at intervals, or they might be held in abeyance and practically cancelled by refusal of the Parlement to register them. Many nobles who appear in M. Sulte's catalogue suffered eclipse in one or other of these ways. There were also so-called nobles, many of them sons or descendants of noble families in France, who emigrated to the colony and asserted their claims to superior rank. The ministers and representatives of the Crown in France and Canada did not favour these aspirants and inquiries were often held into the validity of their claims. In Canada there was no substantial privilege attaching to nobility, as in France, where the *noblesse* was exempt from taxation. In the colony all immigrants were practically on the same footing. M. Sulte's principal conclusion from his investigations is that the nobility accorded to or recognized in Canadian settlers was productive of no abuses, administrative or fiscal, and that there was no squandering of resources or oppression of the mass of the population by a prodigal noble class, as certain historians, Parkman included, have represented. The abuses in the colony proceeded solely from the centralization of government and official interference with private enterprise. On the contrary, he considers that the class of nobles did much to maintain the standard of loyalty and courage so conspicuous in the war with Great Britain which terminated the French rule in Canada.

North America during the Eighteenth Century, by T. Crockett and B. C. Wallis (Cambridge: University Press; pp. viii, 116), represents an attempt to explain political and military events on the basis of geographical position. The authors have chiefly in mind these causes as affecting

the United States but they discuss the struggle between French and British of which Canada was the prize. The historical narrative is based upon secondary authorities and calls for no special comment except that it is unusually accurate for books of this kind. The original features of the book are in the reiterated emphasis upon nature's dictates through geography and the singular-looking maps in which the heavy black represents an imaginary blackboard. Geography made a link between the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence natural and at the same time geography gave the English on the Atlantic coast a natural mountain frontier separating them from the Ohio and the Mississippi. Climate affecting roads determined when campaigns should begin and end and made it difficult for Virginia and New England to cooperate against Canada. One is not sure that the authors have, after all, said anything new but at least they have tried to explain events by penetrating to ultimate causes.

Though the Mohawk Valley is not within Canada, *The Story of the Old Fort Plain and the Middle Mohawk Valley* compiled by Nelson Greene (Fort Plain, New York: O'Connor Brothers; pp. 399) is linked with the history of Canada. The volume consists of a copious collection of what appear to have been newspaper articles. There are two columns on each page. The matter is put together with little system and there is no index to help the reader through the maze. The curious student will read much about the Iroquois Indians, Sir William Johnson, the achievements of Brant in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812 in the Valley, and so on. The editor is a keen student of local history and has included some original documents in the jumble of contents.

Professor W. L. Grant's well documented article on *The Capture of Oswego by Montcalm in 1756* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Series iii, Vol. viii, Section ii, pp. 193-214) is based upon contemporary authorities and

demonstrates that the success of Montcalm, which undoubtedly prolonged the Seven Years' War in Canada, was due to the loss of naval control on Lake Ontario by the British. Had the British had this control Professor Grant is sure that Montcalm would either not have dared to attack the place or would have failed to hold it. The value of the article is in the hitherto unpublished letters of Captain Housman Broadley, in command of the British naval forces on the lake. Mr. Grant has found them in the Record Office in London. They constitute Broadley's defence for not having prevented the fall of Oswego and must henceforth be considered by historians of this important event in the war.

The Chevalier Johnstone, who was in close touch with Montcalm during his last days, has always figured as one of the chief authorities for that period. The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec published in 1866, and later reprinted, an English text of his memoirs. For a time this was thought to be Johnstone's original. In 1871, however, an admitted English translation of the original appeared at Aberdeen, done by a certain Mr. Winchester. This aroused curiosity as to the original. There was really no great mystery about it for it was exhibited at the Stuart Exhibition of 1889. This, however, seems not to have been known in Canada and only comparatively recently did Dr. Doughty, Dominion Archivist, procure a copy of the manuscript, which was in the possession of Mr. W. Campbell Maclean. These *Mémoires de M. le Chev. de Johnstone* (Literary and Historical Society of Quebec: Ninth Series of Historical Documents; pp. 63-199) are thus at last before the public in authentic form. The present edition does not show care quite adequate for so important a document. There is the briefest possible "Foreword" and there is not a single note to illuminate difficult passages in the text. Johnstone is our most vivid authority for the events preceding the surrender of Quebec in 1759 and his work deserves more careful treatment. The present original does not

alter on any serious point the impressions derived from the earlier translation. A society with the notable record of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec ought to do better work than is shown in this instance.

When books for young people are to be written the thing should be well done, and Sir Harry Johnston has done *A Gallery of Heroes and Heroines* well (London: Wells Gardner, Dalton & Co.; pp. vi, 140). There are twelve lives stretching in time from Drake to Scott of Antarctic fame. The book is folio in size, printed in large type and with an excellent coloured portrait of each hero. Three of the lives touch Canada directly, Drake by his voyage up the coast of British Columbia, Wolfe by his campaigns of 1758 and 1759, and James Cook by his surveys on the St. Lawrence and on the Pacific coast. Sir Harry Johnston draws a vivid picture of Drake living in great state on his ship of only one hundred tons. He reached the 48th parallel on the coast of British Columbia and early in June turned back owing to the cold. At that time, however, the cold in that latitude is not severe, indeed summer has come, and we may suspect that it was fog rather than cold which discouraged Drake. Sir Harry Johnston's account of Wolfe at Quebec does not show a careful study of the geography of the place but is adequate for his purpose. Cook, he says, is "the most remarkable figure in the past history of Australasia". But he is also in a real sense the founder of British dominion on the Pacific coast of North America.

Professor Firth of Oxford adds to his other accomplishments that of a collector of ballads and his *American Garland* (Oxford: Blackwell; pp. xlvii, 91) includes five relating to the British conquest of Canada. It is unusual, as Professor Firth says, to find so many ballads relating to one theme. Of the two narrative ballads, "The Siege of Quebec" and "Wolfe and Saunders", the first was probably "written at the time and written by some one who took part in the fighting"; the second is a description from hearsay

of the battle and is attributed to Tom Paine. The third ballad, "The Death of General Wolfe", has six stanzas, as also has the fourth, "Britain in Tears for the loss of the brave General Wolfe". The fifth, "Bold General Wolfe," is, the editor says, still heard in many parts of England. The words vary but not the melody. It dates probably from a generation after Wolfe. The first four are mere doggerel. The fifth essays a high flight, in swinging verse, to the home of the gods, and "the sire of the gods" sends Britannia a comforting message that "Wolfe is not dead but removed".

"Then a council was held in the chamber of Jove
And this was their final decree
That Wolfe should be call'd to the armies above,
And the care be entrusted to he."

Accordingly messengers are sent who find Wolfe at Quebec and tell him that he has been chosen to lead the armies of the gods.

"He cry'd O forbear, let me victory wear,
And then your commands I'll obey."

In the end they are obliged to darken his eyes and to confine him in an urn lest his love of country should lead him to try to get back to earth. Ballads reflect the mind of the common people and Professor Firth's collection throws a real light on the spirit of the times to which they belong.

In *À la conquête de la liberté, les constitutions du Canada* (Paris: Comité "France-Amérique", 1914; pp. 16) Dr. A. D. DeCelles explains for French readers the growth of the present self-government of Canada. Dr. DeCelles is too good a scholar not to state the facts accurately, but his interpretation of the facts or comment upon them gives an impression that what happened was quite other than the facts themselves would suggest. Thus he tells us, quite rightly, that at the time of the British conquest the French population of Canada were quite unaccustomed to self-government. "Corvées, taille, service militaire, tels étaient les seuls points de contact entre l'autorité et le peuple avant l'arrivée des Anglais. Au point de vue de la liberté, les colons canadiens n'avaient donc rien à regretter du

régime français. Ils ne parurent pas se plaindre d'abord des autorités anglais. . . . Quant à la participation au gouvernement du pays, ils n'en avaient cure, ne ressentant pas la privation de droits dont ils n'avaient jamais joui" (p. 2). It is difficult to understand how a deprivation of rights could follow this condition. A little later when the question of giving Canada a constitution was before Parliament and it was proposed to introduce English law contrary to the provisions of the capitulation, the law officers of the Crown, both the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General, were adverse to the suggestion and it was rejected in Parliament by a four-fifths majority. The Quebec Act was the result of the deliberations, and Dr. DeCelles says of it, "il marque la première étape dans l'évolution politique du Canada vers la conquête complète des droits qui ont fait de son peuple une nation libre". The word "conquête" implies that the Quebec Act was wrested from an unwilling British Parliament under threat of an insurrection in the French colony. We can see from his own account that this is not true. Why then the implication? There are other expressions of the same kind in other passages. If the title of the article is justified at all, it is justified in reference to the later struggles in the colony for responsible self-government.

The Illinois State Historical Society is producing a striking series of publications, printed in excellent style and edited with competent scholarship. The tenth volume of Collections constitutes the British Series Volume I and relates to *The Critical Period 1763-1765* (pp. lii, 597) when plans were completed to govern the region of which Chicago is now the chief centre as part of the British Empire. The contents of the book hardly relate directly to the history of Canada. It was the period of the conspiracy of Pontiac and the volume throws much light on British policy respecting the Indians. The editors, Clarence W. Alvord and Clarence E. Carter, have gone far afield to secure documentary material and have spared no pains to ensure accuracy. One of the most interesting papers is a reprint of a rare

pamphlet published in Edinburgh late in 1763. It denounces the "passion for universal empire" of the French, who had just been defeated. The French were likely, it suggests, to try to induce the people of Canada to remove to Louisiana, and no doubt some would go. To cut off Louisiana from Canada the country between the Mississippi and the Great Lakes should be made into a new colony, to be called Charlotina, after the Queen of George III. The details of the proposals furnish an interesting study of projects for British expansion at the time. The revolt of the colonies followed so quickly that little had been done when a new flag waved over the region.

The War Chief of the Ottawas, a chronicle of the Pontiac war. By Thomas Guthrie Marquis. (The Chronicles of Canada.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1915. Pp. 146.

Mr. Marquis has taken for his theme one of the most important, entertaining and romantic events in the history of the old North-west. The war between Great Britain and France had not terminated and the French still clung to the hope that something might turn the tide of affairs in their direction. The largest settlement in the entire north-west was Detroit. The place had been surrendered to the English in 1760, though the King and Privy Council always contended that Detroit was never a French possession, and it was not included in the province of Quebec in the proclamation of 1763.

Clustered around Detroit and extending for several miles along the river front, in both directions from the fort, was a settlement composed entirely of Canadian Frenchmen. Within the stockade itself were the English, Scotch and Irish traders and settlers who had come to the place after 1760. Here also were the soldiers who were doing garrison duty in protecting the frontier settlement. The town was very small and there was not sufficient space within the palisades to accommodate the soldiers. The citadel, or barracks, was built by Israel Putnam (afterwards General Putnam) in

1764, the year following the siege. The Indians were fast friends of the French and were much disturbed, because the English had taken possession of the country and had deprived their old friends of the control. Mutterings of this discontent were heard on every side.

The French, by their counsels at least, encouraged the Indians to annoy the English and fomented the ill-feeling already existing. Sir William Johnson, one of the few persons who were able to control the savages, was superintendent of Indian affairs. He visited Detroit and endeavoured to mollify the French, feeling convinced that this was a way to secure the good will of the Indians. Mr. Marquis relates the story from Johnson's journal, of the dance given to the citizens of Detroit in which the Canadians participated. Johnson says he danced with Mademoiselle Curie. The name of the young lady was Angelique Cuillierie *dit* Beaubien. Miss Crowley has made her the heroine of one of her stories, "A Heroine of the Straits". One can imagine the reception Sir William would have received on his return to his New York home if Mollie Brant had got possession of the Journal. This was in 1762, a year before Pontiac's plans were fully laid to drive the English people into the sea. Pontiac lived near Detroit and was in constant communication with all the French settlers. He knew their plans and they knew his, and it was probably through this series of confidences that Angelique became cognizant of Pontiac's schemes and divulged them to her lover, James Sterling, who later became her husband.

The story that Mr. Marquis tells is strange, interesting and truthful. It is almost beyond belief, and yet we know that the events he has narrated actually took place. Mr. Marquis however has confined himself too closely to the account written by Francis Parkman and has not included many interesting incidents described by later writers. The characters of Gladwin, Thompson Maxwell, John Stark, Campbell, McDougall and other actors are not filled in. But the book is well written and fills a place in modest libraries that never could be filled by the larger work of

Parkman. There are a few mistakes, one in regard to the identity of "Fighting Island".

C. M. BURTON

Professor Wilbur H. Siebert, whose researches into the history of the Loyalists in Canada have accomplished excellent results, has three new papers dealing with the settlement of the Loyalists in the present province of Quebec. The first of these, *The Temporary Settlements of Loyalists at Machiche, P.Q.* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd Series, vol. viii, sect. ii, pp. 407-414) describes in detail the history of the temporary shelter which the Loyalists enjoyed at Machiche. This settlement, which was under the supervision of Haldimand's friend Conrad Gugy, served as a refuge for Loyalists from 1778 to 1784. There was a good deal of dissatisfaction among the inhabitants of the settlement; but Professor Siebert comes to the conclusion that "this must be attributed to their unfortunate condition, rather than to any lack of attention on the part of Governor Haldimand and Seignior Gugy". The second paper deals with *The Loyalist settlements on the Gaspé peninsula* (Ibid. pp. 399-405). These settlements were begun after the close of the Revolutionary War at the instance of Haldimand; most of them were situated on the north shore of the Bay of Chaleur, where descendants of the Loyalists are still to be found in considerable numbers. A third paper, of greater length, deals with *The Loyalists and Six Nation Indians in the Niagara Peninsula* (Ibid. vol. ix, sect. ii, pp. 79-128). This paper virtually covers the history of Loyalist settlement in the Niagara peninsula from 1775 to 1812. In the preparation of the paper practically all the published materials have been laid under contribution, and the result is a monograph of first-rate importance. All Professor Siebert's work is amply documented and annotated, and is executed in a scholarly and scientific manner.

Of recent years some doubts have been expressed as to the good faith of Chateaubriand in describing his journeyings

in America, and it has been shown that certain passages of his *Voyage en Amérique* were "lifted" from other books. Mr. Gilbert Chinard takes up the question in *Notes sur le voyage de Chateaubriand en Amérique, Juillet-Décembre 1791* (University of California Publications in Modern Philology, vol. iv, no. 2, pp. 269-349). His method is to examine the professed itinerary of Chateaubriand in the light of the descriptions of the same route by other travellers at approximately the same date. The probability, for it can only be a probability, that Chateaubriand only describes his own journey will be strengthened if no discrepancies can be established between what he describes and others saw. Chateaubriand entered upon British territory only at Niagara. His statement of the formalities required before visiting the Falls is in accordance with what we know to have been usual. The name of the British officer in charge is given correctly. An English traveller, Weld, visited Niagara in 1797, and his description of what he saw there tallies exactly with Chateaubriand's account, including the broken ladder from the top of the cliff where Chateaubriand had his famous tumble.

The War with the United States, A Chronicle of 1812. By William Wood. (The Chronicles of Canada.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1915. Pp. 181.

Colonel Wood's account of the War of 1812 with the United States has much merit. It is concise, well proportioned and well written. It is mainly, if not entirely, based on a study of the original documents. The causes of the war are clearly and fairly described in the opening chapter entitled "Opposing Claims". The next deals in an admirable manner with the "Opposing Forces". The author justly remarks that this was not an ordinary contest of strength.

> "It was a sprawling and sporadic war; and it was waged over a vast territory by widely scattered and singularly heterogeneous forces on both sides. For this reason it is extremely difficult to view and understand as a connected whole. Partisan misrepresentation never had a better chance" (p. 20).

His statement that "the regulars were the really decisive

factor in every single victory won by either side, afloat or ashore" cannot be seriously questioned by any one conversant with the evidence.

The four succeeding chapters describe the military operations of the war in a highly satisfactory manner. No event of importance is unnoticed, no essential detail is omitted. His brief pen-portraits of the principal leaders seem uniformly just and well considered. Prevost is aptly characterized as "one of those men who succeed half-way up and fail at the top." Due credit is given him for "his diplomatic handling of the French Canadians". Of Brock, the author writes that "alone among the leaders on either side, he had the priceless gift of genius". It is, however, scarcely fair to style Sheaffe "a harsh martinet", although he was without doubt "a third-rate commander". "Tecumseh was the last great leader of the Indian race," Colonel Wood writes, "and perhaps the finest embodiment of all its better qualities" (p. 65).

The battle of Queenston Heights is well described but it is more than doubtful whether the Americans brought twenty-four guns into action on their own side of the river as is repeatedly stated. The fact that neither William Johnson Kerr nor Dominique Ducharme is mentioned in connection with the action at Beaver Dams seems worthy of remark. Colonel Wood's description of the hard-fought struggle at Lundy's Lane is most accurate and interesting but it is probable that many of his readers will prefer the time-honoured name of "Drummond Hill" to that of "Battle Rise", now proposed instead.

The text is illustrated with two excellent maps and several good portraits. In binding, however, a portrait of Sir Gordon Drummond has been substituted for that of Sir George Prevost, facing page 50, and the same portrait again appears facing page 132. There is a satisfactory index.

The Diplomacy of the War of 1812, by Frank A. Updyke (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press; pp. x, 494), is a sort of composite diary of all the main diplomatic develop-

ments which led up to, accompanied, and resulted from the War of 1812. It is well done; and though the American side receives more attention than the British, there is a most commendable and nearly always successful effort to be strictly impartial all through. The British position, hopes, fears, and diplomatic action are shown to almost the same advantage as if by a British advocate; and if the author is a little more insistent in bringing forward all that happened on the American side this is evidently due not to any unworthy attempt to influence the reader's judgment but simply to the fact that he has apparently had more American than British original evidence before him. Yet it would be wrong to give the impression that there is any dearth of original evidence on the British side: only, there is a superabundance on the American. A good deal of the material has been handled before; but never before in quite the same way or in such a just relation to so great a whole. It is safe to say that this is, and is likely to remain, the best single-volume work on its special subject. Nor is it easy to see why it should ever be superseded by a work in many volumes. No essential point is forgotten, and the scope is so wide that it takes in the "Rule of 1756", on the one hand, and the recent Fisheries decision at the Hague on the other. The War of 1812 is the centre. But within the circumference the reader will find all the chief disputes and negotiations between the British Empire and the United States, from the beginning of the Republic down to the present day, when a new, but, in one sense, very old, chapter is being opened on the vexed questions of neutral rights, blockades, and the very diverse interpretations of international law.

Remnants of the Letter Files of the Dearborn Family (*The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December, pp. 407-424) contain a few letters relating to the exchange of prisoners at Halifax and to the Niagara frontier, during the war of 1812. There is nothing, however, of any considerable importance.

The historians of the negotiations which ended the War of 1812 will not lack for material on the American side. Last year we reviewed a volume dealing with Gallatin, one of the American commissioners, and now we have the papers of two others, Bayard and Adams. James A. Bayard was a copious letter writer, and he also kept a diary. These papers, now published in the *Annual Report* for 1913 of the American Historical Association (Washington; pp. 539), under the editorship of Miss Elizabeth Donnan, do not strengthen the impression that the British commissioners were an easy mark for the more astute Americans. The British delayed the negotiations to wait upon events in Europe. Canada was much in the minds of both sides. The southern States, however, did not, according to Bayard, desire the conquest of Canada (p. 196) though Monroe argued with vigour that since "these provinces will be severed from Great Britain at no distant day by their own career" (p. 228) they should be given up at once. The American commissioners were outraged at the proposal of the British that the sovereignty of the Great Lakes should be surrendered to Britain (p. 323). During the protracted negotiations Bayard was longing to go home. He did not remain in Europe to complete the treaty of commerce which followed that of peace, and died a week after reaching America in the summer of 1815. John Quincy Adams, with Gallatin and Clay, remained to complete the negotiations. The fifth volume of the *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, edited by Worthington C. Ford (New York: The Macmillan Co.; pp. xxvii, 556) contain the letters of Adams written from Ghent and from London while negotiations were going on. They, too, do not convey the impression that the American commissioners found it easy to bargain with the British. At Ghent the British showed a "rancorous animosity" (p. 166). They declared that they must ensure the security of Canada (p. 119) and based on this the demand to control the Great Lakes so as to prevent a sudden incursion into Canada of the more numerous population of the Republic. *The Times*, then as later during the American

Civil War, was very bitter against the United States. Altogether it is probable that the British commissioners secured the best terms possible. Had the existing treaty not been made in December the British would probably have been forced to make a worse one in the following March when again they had to meet the power of Napoleon.

In the Chronicles of Canada series Miss Ethel T. Raymond writes on *Tecumseh* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company; pp. 160). The little book is based on well known and easily accessible printed sources, and calls for little comment. There is no pretence of original research. Nor does it appear that any serious effort has been made to sift truth from falsehood. The purpose of the writer has been to compile a narrative suited to popular consumption and this object has probably been attained. The style is rhetorical and imaginative. The death of Tecumseh is thus described:

"Behind the swamp, where the Indians were posted, the battle went no more favourably. Tecumseh and his warriors had lain silent in their covert until Johnson's cavalry had advanced well within range. Then the leader's loud war-cry rang out as a signal for battle. The enemy shouted a derisive challenge, and the Indians replied with a well-directed volley. So destructive was the fire of the Indians that the front line of the Americans was annihilated. The horses were struggling in the swamp, and Johnson, himself wounded, ordered some of the horsemen to dismount, hoping to draw their foe out of cover, while he and a few of the boldest soldiers led the attack. Tecumseh's keen eye singled out the American leader. He rushed through his warriors to strike him down. Johnson levelled his pistol. Like lightning Tecumseh's tomahawk gleamed above his head. But before it could whirl on its deadly flight, there was a flash and a report. Johnson, weakened by the wound he had already received, but still clutching the smoking weapon, reeled from his saddle. Tecumseh's tomahawk dropped harmless to the earth, and the noblest of red patriots, the greatest and truest of Indian allies, fell shot through the breast. The Indians lost heart and fled into the depths of the forest, leaving many of their bravest warriors dead on the field.

"Sunset faded into darkness. The body of Tecumseh lay on the battlefield in the light of the American camp-fires. Like spectres his faithful followers stole swiftly through the wood and bore it away. On the dead face still lingered the impress of the proud spirit which had animated it in life. But silent was the war-cry that had urged his followers to battle; stilled was the silver eloquence that had won them to his purpose" (pp. 149-150).

Contrast this with the simple account given by Blackhawk.

"The Indians posted in the swamp never stirred till the cavalry were so close that they could see the flints on their guns, when Tecumseh, springing to his feet, gave the Shawanoes' war-cry and discharged his rifle at the Americans

as a signal for a general engagement. At the first fire from the Americans, Tecumseh was seen to stagger and fall and the Indians fled. During the night the Indians returned to bury the dead, although within sight of the American camp-fires. Tecumseh's body was unmutilated but that of a fine-looking Pottawatomie chief was scalped and flayed."

Johnson was a shrewd politician and very willing to profit by the story circulated in his behalf that he had killed Tecumseh, which he wisely declined to confirm or deny.

As Mr. Justice Riddell's three Addresses, *A Canadian's View of the Battle of Plattsburgh, A Canadian's View of the Battle of New Orleans, The Century of Peace and its Significance* (pp. 42), were delivered before audiences chiefly composed of citizens of the United States assembled to commemorate and magnify successes of the arms of the United States, it is not unnatural that they should be conciliatory and perhaps a trifle apologetic in tone. "The Battle of Plattsburgh made the peace possible; the Battle of New Orleans, in my view, made it palatable and therefore permanent", Mr. Justice Riddell declares (p. 16). Yet in his last address he did not fail to remind his hearers how often this permanent peace had been seriously menaced during the century of its continuance. For the British Commissioners who negotiated the treaty of peace at Ghent he has no feeling of respect. "The brilliant quintette of Americans met the blundering tactics of their opponents with much skill," he writes. "The team play was superb, if the practice games amongst themselves and away from the Stadium were exhibitions of petulance, wilfulness and sectional selfishness. The British Commissioners were no doubt hampered by their instructions, but even these and the constant interference of their Government cannot explain, much less justify, their ineptitude" (p. 9). Elsewhere the representatives of Great Britain are described as "being but puppets" (p. 11). The author's statement that "the peace of Ghent was the result of the Battle of Plattsburgh" (p. 14) can scarcely pass unchallenged. In conjunction with other British reverses, Plattsburgh had unquestionably some influence on the course of negotiations, but the proceedings of the Congress of Vienna had much

more. As late as the 26th of October, J. A. Bayard wrote from Ghent to his cousin, Andrew Bayard: "If Great Britain thinks it likely that she will in any form be involved in a continental war, she will hasten to make peace with us. Thus in a great measure does our destiny depend upon operations not under our control, nor within our view" (*Correspondence* of J. A. Bayard, p. 349).

The eighteenth volume of the Buffalo Historical Society's Publications is entitled *Peace Episodes on the Niagara* (Buffalo, 1914; pp. x, 382). None of the "Episodes" have to do with Canadian history. There is also printed in the volume an address by Mr. Frank H. Severance on *The Centenary of Peace in relation to the region of the Niagara and the Great Lakes*. He recapitulates some of the earlier history and disposes of the war of 1812 as an American speaker might be expected to do in addressing an American audience. His discussion of the hundred years of peace between Great Britain and the United States he aptly calls "a study in the evolution of cordiality". In spite of annoying episodes, in which he includes the visits of superior Englishmen, especially the kind that write books, mutual good-will has been growing between the two nations. Another paper by Mr. Severance in the volume is *The Case of Brigadier-General Alexander Smyth*, an extraordinarily incompetent general of the American forces on the Niagara frontier during the War of 1812.

The Family Compact, a chronicle of the Rebellion in Upper Canada. By W. Stewart Wallace. (The Chronicles of Canada.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1915. Pp. xii, 172.

In *The Family Compact*, Mr. W. Stewart Wallace presents a clear and comprehensive narrative of the origin, development and ultimate decay of the oligarchy which played so prominent a part in the history of Upper Canada. The author argues that the Constitutional Act of 1791, by creating an executive independent of popular control, in-

evitably produced a governing clique and he believes that what is known as the Compact existed in embryo previous to the War of 1812. Certainly, the agitation against the men in authority conducted by Weekes, Judge Thorpe, John Mills Jackson, Willcocks and others indicates a condition calling for something more effectual than mere parliamentary opposition. The war, however, silenced faction, and the errors of the Executive were, for the moment, of trifling importance. It was not until Robert Gourlay reached the province in 1817 and embarked upon investigation and controversy that the official Junta assumed the precise form and pursued the policy which is generally condemned by the most competent writers.

No book yet published, as the author correctly states, records the rebellion from the Family Compact point of view. Such a work, it is understood, has been written by Mr. W. D. Lesueur, but it has not yet appeared. Mr. Wallace's narrative is not coloured by prejudice in favour of either party, and is a vivid and, in the main, an impartial account of what happened. In truth, to defend the Compact, or even to do it justice, is no easy task. Even if we bear in mind the reactionary ideas prevailing during the period, both in Great Britain and in Canada, and even if we admit that the men who so tenaciously clung to office were often well-intentioned and in some measure the best fitted to conduct the affairs of state, the outstanding fact that the youthful colony failed to make adequate progress under their rule, and that the end was disunion and rebellion must be their condemnation. They never rose to be more than a small office-holding clique, to whom every advocate of reform was an unpleasant person to be persecuted or suppressed. When freedom of speech is denied in time of peace the system of government, whatever name it bears, is not British. The United Empire Loyalists were the backbone of the province. They had practically saved Upper Canada for the British Crown in 1812. They were not identified with despotic ideas, either in their former homes or in the new country to which they had come. But distaste for civil

disturbance was in their blood, and as a class they hated rebellion. They, accordingly, acquiesced in the rule of office-mongers, partly because they were not enthusiastic for root-and-branch reforms and partly because in their view the unity of the Empire was the chief object of colonial administration. The force that might have kept the Compact in its place, therefore, never asserted its natural supremacy.

The Compact began badly, and Gourlay, who may be considered the first of its victims, was treated with ruthless severity for actions which in themselves constituted no offence against the state. He was kept in jail until he broke down in mind and body. He was not given a fair trial, and was finally expelled from the province in a cruel and arbitrary manner. A strong opposition began to form in the Legislature, and the advent of Bidwell, Baldwin and Perry promised good results, but the Opposition could not displace ministers and, unless the Legislative Council consented, it could not legislate. Such a system was bound to end in commotion of some kind. When the extreme reformers, who had patience, were joined by William Lyon Mackenzie, who had none, the situation assumed its dangerous phase. As the author points out, the persecuting policy of the Compact was chiefly distinguished by its pettiness. The tone of political controversy, both in the press and in public speeches, had been long violent, and doubtless there was injustice in the attacks upon the official class. The Government was not corrupt in the sense in which we now employ the term under the beneficent rule of free democracy. There were honourable men in the Compact and a few of average ability. But in spite of Bishop Strachan's force of character and Sir John Beverley Robinson's sterling integrity, no man of any broad statesmanship emerged on the constitutional side. The only men to whom the term statesman could fittingly be applied were Bidwell and Baldwin. The fight maintained by the clique was in reality one against time. There could be nothing permanent in such a system of administration, and it recalled the worst aspects of the

Stuart régime without the heroic figures or the great issues which ennobled and dignified that page in English history.

If the reform leaders were embarrassed by the headlong and often ill-advised zeal of Mackenzie, he appeared to the Compact the incarnation of all that was evil and mischievous in the body politic. He excited the oligarchy to commit its worst mistakes. The chief value of Mackenzie in Canadian history is that he was the means of revealing to a discerning posterity the real qualities of the Family Compact. By repeated expulsions from the House he was made a popular hero and in a spirit of rage and bitterness he began the preparations for rebellion. Mr. Wallace is unsympathetic to Mackenzie throughout. He smites and spares not. His verdict is that the rebellion was a very sordid episode wherein nearly every one did the wrong thing in the wrong way at the wrong time. The facts are related with convincing candour. Mackenzie's course from first to last cannot be excused, but in passing final judgment we must remember the extreme provocation to which he was subjected.

If the author is unfavourable to Mackenzie, it is not from any bias toward the Family Compact whose expiring efforts he traces in the Montreal riots of 1849. This is to ignore the anti-French feeling and the commercial discontent which were the primary causes of that indefensible episode. The introduction of responsible government by Sir Charles Bagot, to whom rather than to Lord Elgin belongs the credit of taking the plunge, was the sign that the Family Compact as a governing factor had passed away.

Lady Durham's Journal (Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Ninth Series of Historical Documents, pp. 1-68), recording the private side of the life of the Earl of Durham while Governor General of Canada in 1838, has a real interest because the period is so vital in Canadian history. The diary is an almost daily record of what happened from the time the party sailed from England until it returned. Durham had a large suite. Lady Durham complains of the

noise, especially that made by the band, when they started. On the *Hastings* they had open fires and were comfortable. Even on the voyage Durham was deep in business. When he relaxed he was a leader in merrymaking. The banks of the St. Lawrence had a look of bareness but Lady Durham was enchanted with Quebec. Here the hot summer was soon upon them. Durham gave daily dinners, and often had as many as forty at table. The dinners were very fatiguing in the heat and the Canadian guests were usually shy and embarassed. Sometimes Durham was up at four in the morning at his desk. Clearly he overworked himself and matured the causes of his early death. He had the power of inspiring great affection. His wife adored him and writes constantly of him as "He" with a capital. He was courtesy itself to his guests at table. In June his Ordinance was issued dealing with the French in prison for sharing in the rebellion of 1837. Lady Durham describes Durham's visit to the interior as far as Niagara Falls. Part of the route from Montreal to Kingston was over terrible roads, and accommodation in the inns was very bad. Truly Canada was then a barbarous country. Durham actually feared attack by American pirates in the St. Lawrence. Niagara Falls enchanted him. Toronto he found pleasing. By the time the return journey began Durham was so overworked that he was really ill and the dinners and speeches well-nigh killed him. At Quebec came quieter days but on September 19 arrived the news that ruined all. The work of conciliation had been destroyed by the disallowance in England of his Ordinance as *ultra vires*. No one of the ministers, his Whig friends, except Lord John Russell, wrote a word to him privately about their failure to support him. He decided to throw up his post and return and Lady Durham describes the melancholy days until his arrival in England on the last day of November. The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec has done a useful service in publishing the Journal but the service would have been greater had an adequate introduction and notes been provided.

The Day of Sir John Macdonald, a chronicle of the First Prime Minister of the Dominion. By Sir Joseph Pope. (The Chronicles of Canada.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1915. Pp. xi, 195.

In *The Day of Sir John Macdonald* we probably have Sir Joseph Pope's final estimate of the Conservative leader. The writer is not yet the judicial biographer. He still is peculiarly the friend and champion of his old chief. There are a few incidents in the career of Sir John Macdonald as in that of many another political leader which require judicial examination rather than collusive exculpation. For example, the Canadian Pacific Railway scandal and the Franchise Bill of 1885 do not admit of complete defence.

Sir Joseph Pope says:

"In the light of all that has happened in the last forty years, it is difficult to repress a smile when reading the impassioned invectives poured out upon Sir John Macdonald by his political opponents of that day in connection with the Pacific scandal. According to them he had basely betrayed his country, selling her honour for filthy lucre; had shamefully prostituted his office; he was a great criminal for whose punishment justice cried aloud, and much more to the same effect. Yet every one who dispassionately considers the affair to-day in its true perspective sees quite plainly that, however indiscreetly he acted in his relations with Sir Hugh Allan, Sir John's sole thought was for the advantage of Canada.

"Sir John's mistake was in asking favours of a man who at that time was seeking advantages from the Government. No matter how sure he might be of his own rectitude, it was setting a dangerous precedent for a weaker man, who might be placed in his position, to follow. No doubt, too, he would have done better not to have mixed himself up with money matters at all, though in acting as he did he only followed the usual practice. In that day the leaders of political parties in Canada personally solicited campaign funds. Macdonald took contributions from the rich men of his party—among others from Sir Hugh Allan—to fight that party's battles. But there was no barter. Sir Hugh Allan was, of course, playing his own game. His motive is quite apparent. He wanted to build the Pacific railway, and was naturally interested in preventing the accession to power of men opposed to the whole scheme as premature and beyond the resources of the country."

This is the old argument that the end justifies the means. Sometimes perhaps it does. But the argument is seldom conclusive unless it be held that the interests of individuals and parties are the supreme consideration. No doubt where $50,000 was spent in elections by Sir John Macdonald $250,000 is spent in our time. This means only that we are richer and that the human spirit persists. Moreover our political leaders have learned not to handle money

themselves. Possibly there would be less money handled in political contests if the old fashion had not been abandoned.

Sir Joseph Pope does not exaggerate Sir John Macdonald's services in uniting the British North American provinces. It may be, as Dr. Goldwin Smith has said, that deadlock was the father of Confederation. Sir John Macdonald, however, never was hostile to Confederation, and if he moved slowly it was because as a governing statesman he had to adapt himself to the public temper. It is apparent that George Brown was more eager to destroy the Conservative party and to obtain power for the Liberals than to unite the provinces. So Sir John Macdonald was more anxious to retain office in the old Parliament of United Canada and to "dish the Grits" than to force the issue of Confederation into practical politics. But when government became impossible, George Brown and John A. Macdonald came together and co-operated, apparently, with mutual good faith and confidence until union was accomplished.

Once union was achieved, co-operation between these two men was impossible. Each desired to be first and each was conscious of his own powers. It is doubtful if Macdonald had greater qualities than George Brown, but in genius for party management Brown was inferior to his rival. This is not to suggest that George Brown was a poor politician. He was, indeed, a shrewd and aggressive party manager. He made the Liberal party strong in Ontario. He could accommodate himself to changes in the popular temper and shift ground as party exigencies required. Moreover, nothing is more absurd than to suggest that Sir John Macdonald was an arch-corruptionist and George Brown a political saint. If he could get it, Brown was willing to spend just as much money in an election as was necessary to ensure victory, and if ever he spent less than Macdonald it was because there was less to spend. Any one who has heard the gossip of an earlier generation of Liberals over the Brown campaigns must smile at the tradition of a monopoly of electoral wickedness which has gathered about the Conservative leader.

If George Brown and William Macdougall led in the agitation to bring the northwest territories into Confederation, Sir John Macdonald was influential in settling terms with the Imperial Government and in reconciling certain elements in older Canada to the westward extension of Canadian authority. He, more than any other man, took risks to bring British Columbia into the Union. Looking backward the price was not excessive. It was a huge undertaking to build a railway across the country in ten years, but as was proved the thing was not impossible. Moreover, through communication was necessary to any vital political connection between the east and the western territories.

There is no doubt that at the Quebec conference and in the conferences with the Imperial authorities in London while the British North America Act was before the Imperial Parliament Sir John Macdonald was the master mind. He counselled with much discretion and wisdom. He was influential with Imperial statesmen. He held Galt in hand, but with difficulty, and he kept Cartier's interest and loyalty. In like manner he displayed remarkable skill, patience and wisdom in uniting the various sections and elements of the country after Confederation and in riding the dangers which were inseparable from new and uneasy political conditions.

In this book, as in his valuable memoirs of the Conservative leader, Sir Joseph Pope shows unnecessary animus against George Brown. Brown had his faults, but he was a devoted Canadian patriot, and had few qualities which justified enduring distrust or dislike. The author is fairer to Alexander Mackenzie than he is to George Brown. He says:

"Alexander Mackenzie, the Prime Minister, like his precedessor, was a Scotsman by birth. Like Sir John Macdonald, too, he had emigrated to Canada at an early age and had settled first at Kingston, subsequently removing to Sarnia. In 1861 he entered Parliament as member for Lambton, and took rank from the first as a strong and effective debater on the side of the Opposition. In office he proved a capable administrator of unimpeachable integrity, with a remarkable capacity for labour. It could not be said of him, however, that he possessed the essential qualities of a leader. Not only was he destitute of that mysterious personal attribute known as 'magnetism', but he was disposed to be arbitrary and dictatorial. His political supporters respected, and perhaps feared him, but it cannot be said that he was popular among them."

This is true, but it was commercial depression that unhorsed Mackenzie in 1878.

At times as, for instance, when it was necessary, after many drains on the treasury, to give further help to the Canadian Pacific Railway, Sir John Macdonald hesitated. Indeed he was often timid when public opinion was restless. If he had been otherwise he could not have been a governing statesman. In this instance the one man in the government who saw all that was at stake was the late Mr. Frank Smith and he, there is reason to think, was chiefly instrumental in strengthening the spirit of Sir John Macdonald and persuading the Government to give the assistance which the railway required. It is not suggested that Sir John Macdonald lacked courage. He had perhaps as much courage as any statesman in a democracy can afford to have. He was a sound judge of men. He could see behind a passing clamour the enduring things in men's minds. He could take risks for a cause to which he was devoted, and to the vital things in which he believed he was curiously consistent throughout a long public career. He tried to maintain the character of the Bench, he was sensitive in respect to the dignity of Parliament, and he was a devoted adherent of British connection.

Now and again, perhaps, he secured victories by doubtful methods. But at least those who were his critics did not improve the methods when they came into office. It is curious that Sir Joseph Pope should commit himself to a defence of the original provisions of the Federal Franchise Act of 1885. This measure the Liberal Opposition, under Mr. Edward Blake, obstructed for five months. Doubtless they sincerely believed that they would suffer mortal injustice if the Act were carried. Sir Joseph Pope says:

"The apprehensions of the Opposition with regard to the revising officers were not realized. In Ontario these positions were offered to the county court judges, or to the junior judges, and were accepted by nearly all of them. In the Province of Quebec, where there are no county court judges, such appointments were not possible; but the law provided that where the returning officer was not a judge, he must be a barrister or notary of not less than five years' standing, and an appeal in all cases lay from him to a judge. Sir John Macdonald carefully supervised these appointments, which in the great majority of cases were quite unexceptionable. The administration of the Act was no doubt expensive. This

was the strongest criticism heard against it; but in the opinion of the Government of that day it was essential to the idea of a united Dominion that the Parliament of Canada should determine and control the conditions of acquiring the right to vote for members of its own House of Commons."

The author should have explained that as a result of the desperate resistance of the Opposition amendments which improved the measure were adopted and some of its most objectionable provisions removed. Complete defence of the Redistribution Act of 1882 and the Franchise Act of 1885 is impossible, and sooner or later this will be admitted by every impartial historian.

Sir Joseph Pope is nowhere so frank as in dealing with the Conservative leaders from Quebec in the time of Sir John Macdonald. He tells us what was suspected, if not fairly well known, at the time, that the relations between Sir Hector Langevin, Sir Adolphe Caron and Sir Adolphe Chapleau were so far from cordial that they often could not co-operate. They were almost as much concerned to thwart one another's projects as to keep the Liberal party out of office. Possibly there is still more to be said than Sir Joseph Pope's book reveals. It may be found ultimately that when the late J. Israel Tarte was preparing his charges against Sir Hector Langevin, Mr. Thomas McGreevy and a group of contractors, he was in intimate association with Mr. Chapleau. At the outset, perhaps, the object of Mr. Tarte and Mr. Chapleau was to destroy Langevin rather than to assist the Liberal party. The course of events, however, drove Mr. Tarte into the Liberal party, and possibly Mr. Chapleau was in the immediate neighbourhood.

But Sir Joseph Pope's book does not contain many revelations. It has less new material than we should have expected. It gives us, however, an attractive portrait of a great political figure, and enough of personal incident and gossip to make the story fresh and vivid. Somehow or other, while one is grateful for the workmanship of this book, for its ease and dignity, one still feels that the picture of Macdonald is only a miniature, and that a full-length figure of the founder of the Liberal-Conservative party has yet to be painted.

J. S. WILLISON

A series of articles by Mr. W. A. Harkin describing several interviews with Sir Charles Tupper appeared about four years ago in the *Vancouver Daily Providence*; collected but unaltered they have been republished as *Political Reminiscences of the Right Hon. Sir Charles Tupper* (London: Constable and Company, Ltd., 1914; pp. xix, 303). In them for the most part Sir Charles, who revised the original newspaper proofs, is represented as speaking; the journalist claims only "to edit and transcribe". Two biographical sketches, one of Mr. Harkin, who died while preparing the book for publication, the other dealing with Sir Charles's early life in a thoroughly trite and undiscriminating manner, have been added by the final editors. An appendix consisting of the Hansard report of "Sir Charles Tupper's Five-Hour Speech on the Railway Policy of the Mackenzie Government" completes the volume. The only feature of the book likely to excite even curiosity is the fact that Mr. Harkin's papers are literally identical with the greater part of Sir Charles's *Recollections of Sixty Years in Canada* reviewed by us last year (Vol. XIX, pp. 64-66) which appeared a short time before it. As these articles in their original form were published several years before the *Recollections*, one is forced to the conclusion that Sir Charles considered such hastily constructed newspaper reports a sufficient foundation for his autobiography. Whether this is the case or not, the present volume is obviously without value. With the exception of the striking if unconscious picture it presents of Sir Charles, it is simply a reproduction of defects; for while it is as disjointed, incomplete, and ridiculously partial as were the *Recollections*, the correspondence, which gave Sir Charles's own book much of its historical value, is absent. A dogmatic attitude is displayed in dealing with all political questions. The "Pacific Scandal" is lightly converted into the "Pacific Slander", without any attempt to present the evidence, let alone estimate its conclusiveness. The disregard of historical methods is complete, and inaccuracies and faults of style are numerous.

The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal. By Beckles Willson. London, New York, Toronto, and Melbourne: Cassell and Company, Limited, 1915. Pp. xv, 632.

The Real Strathcona. By Dr. George Bryce. (Six articles in the *Canadion Magazine*, July to December, 1915).

The ease with which material success and venerable age can dispel criticism has seldom been so strikingly exemplified as in the closing years of Lord Strathcona's life. From the time when, at the age of seventy-six, he entered upon the last and most distinguished stage of his remarkable career, he came commonly to be regarded as the personification of all that was estimable and generous in Canadian life. He was the living expression of her marvellous development. His association with commercial imperialism was felt to embody her noblest political ideals. The new generation saw only the ends he had achieved, the means were forgotten or obscured. Then in the midst of the eulogies aroused by his death came Mr. Preston's biography, reviewed by us last year (Vol. XIX, pp. 66-69), striking rudely at the very foundations of his reputation, alleging here a dubious action, there a sinister motive. The book was quite frankly a political pamphlet which dealt almost exclusively with Donald Smith's life in Canada from 1870 to 1890. The details of those years had faded from men's minds; the broad outline of amazing achievement alone remained. Mr. Preston assailed the spirit as well as the substance of this achievement. The attack was fierce, the innuendo crude and sometimes strained; but it forced men to revise their judgements. However unfairly, the other side of the shield was again displayed. Strathcona was shown not as the symbol of Canada, but as a Canadian politician and financier whose methods and aims revealed but a single, though possibly a dominating, tendency; a tendency which had found its highest political expression in Sir John Macdonald and its economic faith in the National Policy. The book had the effect of substituting a spirit of healthy criticism for one of undiscriminating praise.

It is unfortunate that this leavening influence is not apparent in the "authorized biography" by Mr. Beckles Willson. The pendulum has been allowed to swing back again to the other extreme. Mr. Willson's efforts to replace the idol on its pedestal are as injudicious and awkward as were Mr. Preston's assaults. There is, however, a simpler and more engaging side to Donald Smith's career. Men have been accustomed to see in him "the sublimation of the industrious apprentice". But even here the length and conscientious minuteness of Mr. Willson's book impair its effectiveness; for it must be confessed that a career, which in its broader outlines presents so much of romance, loses greatly by detailed treatment. The opening chapters seem almost to be a wilful attempt to destroy the glamour of the story. Entirely unnecessary emphasis is laid upon the respectability as distinguished from the humbleness of his origin, and the ramifications of family connections, tedious even in the case of the most illustrious, are here traced through all their bourgeois channels. Far more interesting is the account of Smith's early service with the Hudson's Bay Company, first at the King's Post at Tadoussac, and later at the North-West River in Labrador, where he laboured for nearly twenty-five years before securing the promotion which entitled him to a long leave and the opportunity to revisit Scotland.

It is significant of the vastness of the Company's operations in those years that one could spend so long a time and rise so high in its service without ever having seen the West; for it was not until 1869 that Donald Smith, General Manager of the Eastern Posts, was commissioned by the Canadian Government to re-establish peace among the discontented half-breeds of Rupert's Land. Mr. Willson gives a full and admirable account both of the negotiations for the transfer of the Company's territory to Canada, and of the Red River Rebellion and its causes. He has evidently had access to authorities of unusual interest, notably some of Governor Mactavish's letters which throw a fresh light upon the attitude of the Company's officers towards the rising. The

account is marred however by the absence even of any allusion to the political situation in eastern Canada. In his relations with Riel, Donald Smith appears at his best. He was courageous, patient and resourceful. He did not hesitate to distribute considerable sums of money in order to gain adherents, but bribery was never more venial. The rash conduct of the "Loyalists" and the execution by Riel of Scott almost destroyed his work, but in spite of this it is clear that, had it not been for the spirit of frankness and conciliation which he introduced, the outbreak would have been seriously prolonged.

The events connected with the decline of the Hudson's Bay Company as a great fur-trading corporation and the consequent vicissitudes of the "wintering partners" are recounted with sympathy. The oppressive provisions of the New Deed Poll, and the terms of the agreement for the transfer to Canada, had placed those faithful servants who carried on and depended upon the fur-trade completely in the power of the shareholders. Their pay was low, the pensions, fixed by agreement, were miserably inadequate; but the pathetic attempts of the wintering partners to obtain some share in the Company's new prosperity were fruitless. So much at any rate is clear, but as to how far any legal rights had been infringed Mr. Willson is either unable or unwilling to enlighten us. His apparent lack of frankness may be due to the fact that Lord Strathcona acted as the go-between in the negotiations of his old associates with the London Board, and that his exertions on their behalf do not appear to have been whole-hearted. Indeed in view of his position in the Company the very failure of his efforts is in itself a condemnation, and Mr. Willson's disingenuous attempts to sugar the pill and present him in a more favourable light are not edifying.

The period of Lord Strathcona's public life in Canada is dealt with at rather wearying length, but, with the exception of some new and interesting correspondence in connection with the Pacific scandal, the old story of intrigue and corruption in Canadian politics is repeated without varia-

tion. Occasional excursions deal with financial operations and particularly with the organization and construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The method of treatment is too reserved; the voice of infallibility is too often assumed. A sort of agreeable yet necessarily inconclusive innuendo is the only attempt to refute Mr. Preston's charges, which are indeed almost ostentatiously ignored throughout.

The remainder of the book deals with Lord Strathcona's life in London as High Commissioner for Canada. The continual round of social functions, the petty duties, the trivial obligations are recounted with unction. How a man of such great age stood the strain at all is amazing, yet the respectable white-haired figure worked steadily for sixteen long years, an evident sense of gratification with his position dispelling weariness. In spite of its monotony the account of these years is unique, and, in a sense, valuable. It displays the working of the unfamiliar side of Canada's constitutional connection with England. The hidden wires which enable the "dependency" and the Colonial Office to maintain harmonious relations, and which permit the continuation of cherished anachronisms, are revealed. We are given, too, a fairly complete record of the imperialistic movement of the late nineties. The tawdriness of much in those years when Chamberlain was at the height of his power, and Kipling's verses gave expression to the ideals in men's minds, is unconsciously disclosed.

As a biography Mr. Willson's work is as unrevealing as was Mr. Preston's. The white beard and the bushy eyebrows still form an almost impenetrable mask. In spite of the many anecdotes we can only guess at what Lord Strathcona really thought. We know that he was reserved; but we cannot be sure that he had any secret enthusiasms. His own letters are, as one would expect, precise and formal, and Mr. Willson's conventional comments are rendered even more meaningless by his undiscriminating adulation. In short this is where he fails. To him Lord Strathcona is always the empire builder, always the statesman. He is unwilling to admit even those venial failings which might

make his hero something less of a cold shadow. His undiscerning faith, too, in the ideals which inspired, or rather actuated, Lord Strathcona's conduct renders him incapable of forming an impartial judgement. His attitude towards both the man and his career is completely uncritical.

No doubt, sooner or later, a sense of proportion will be acquired and Lord Strathcona will fall into his proper place. The idol tottered under Mr. Preston's blows; now thanks to Mr. Willson it seems again for the moment to be re-established. Judgements upon him are bound to vary but we would do well to avoid violent detraction on the one hand or hero-worship on the other. He was neither an unprincipled scoundrel nor an immaculate statesman. For Canada, he represented a particular spirit in politics and a certain tendency in development, common enough forty years ago. Tradition errs in ascribing to him the qualities of the representative Canadian. Rather he was the promoter in the young country. It is absurd to regard him as one of the splendid figures, as one of the great minds. To be just we must think of him as he was, and admire him for what he accomplished. A hard-headed Scotchman, he displayed many of the virtues and failings of his type. To his untiring industry and narrow devotion to duty were added splendid business ability and an acquired sense of expediency. In short, well fitted to achieve under a peculiarly individualistic system a brilliant material success, he was the supreme example of a not uncommon and often estimable type, the industrious apprentice who has gained his reward.

Except for a number of errors which have been corrected in the American edition, the book is well produced. The illustrations are excellent, but the inclusion of a photograph of the present Minister of Militia in connection, apparently, with a somewhat superficial and irrelevant account of controversies between the civil and military heads of the militia under the last administration, seems entirely unnecessary, and, in view of Sir Sam Hughes' extraordinary attempts to discredit some of Mr. Willson's authorities, must now be a matter of regret.

The articles of Dr. George Bryce on Strathcona are entitled "A Peacemaker at Fort Garry", "The Nights at Silver Heights", "The Glamour of the Fur Trade", "The First Railway to Winnipeg", "A Notable Legislator" and "The Golden Spike of the Canadian Pacific Railway". Dr. Bryce was a personal friend of Strathcona and writes in terms of praise. We may reserve criticism of what is really a biography until it is completed in succeeding numbers of the *Canadian Magazine*.

Sir Sandford Fleming, Empire Builder. By Lawrence J. Burpee. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1915. Pp. 288.

Sir Sandford Fleming died only in July 1915. This biography was written during his lifetime and had the benefit of his oversight. Sir Sandford was eighty-eight years old when he died. The once huge form had shrunk but the mind was still alert. Few men have been more beloved by those who knew them intimately. Few, too, had touched a greater variety of interests and few, in contact with hard realities of business affairs, have preserved a finer integrity or a keener patriotism. We do not like Mr. Burpee's florid phrase "Empire Builder", but if it is to be used it could be used of few more fitly than of Sandford Fleming, for there was nothing parochial in his outlook and he really did plan for the welfare of the British Empire as a whole.

Mr. Burpee's successive chapters describe Fleming's achievements. A well educated young engineer from Kirkcaldy, he came to Canada in 1845. He kept a diary and Mr. Burpee is able to quote his descriptions of Montreal, Toronto and other places sixty years ago. At first Fleming had difficulty in securing employment in his profession. He had, however, come to Canada just on the eve of a great era of railway-building and he was soon fully occupied. It is interesting to know that he saw the burning of the Parliament Buildings in Montreal in 1849 and helped in the work of salvage. In that year he became one of the founders of the Royal Canadian Institute of Toronto which

still flourishes. He then was occupied in the work of building the Northern Railway, the first line to run out of Toronto.

In 1863, he went to what is now Manitoba and was dreaming of the line which was to become the Canadian Pacific Railway. Already the people of the Red River Settlement were restless at their own backwardness.

> "They have been silent witnesses of the march of colonization westward from Lake Michigan across the states of Wisconsin and Minnesota to Dakota; they have seen an industrious population reckoned by hundreds of thousands introduced almost alongside of them, whilst their own settlement scarcely increases in numbers; they know that there is nothing in their own soil and climate to keep them from advancing; they are satisfied with the richness of the one and the salubrity of the other; but they cannot help feeling mortified at the strong contrast between the satisfactory progress of their neighbours, and the absence of prosperity with themselves. Justly or unjustly, they attribute their backward condition to the sway of the Hudson Bay Fur Company, and they clamour in a way that cannot be misunderstood, against a further continuance of a rule which they appear to believe is the chief hindrance to their progress" (p. 66).

Such was the opinion which Fleming interpreted in 1863. He formed then a plan for building a transcontinental line slowly and but little in advance of settlement. In the end, however, the line was pushed rapidly across a wilderness.

In 1863 Fleming was chosen as the engineer of the projected Intercolonial Railway. He had something to do with bringing together the statesmen of the Maritime Provinces and of Upper and Lower Canada and thus helped forward the ultimate federation of Canada. Mr. Burpee describes the problem of the survey and of the building of the line. Then in 1871 Fleming turned to his most conspicuous task. He became engineer-in-chief of the Canadian Pacific Railway as a government line and held the post until 1880 when the present Canadian Pacific Railway Company took over the task from the Government. An account of Fleming's task in finding a possible route through the Rocky Mountains is given in the late Principal Grant's *From Ocean to Ocean* and this narrative is summarized by Mr. Burpee. After 1880 Fleming took up great imperial problems. He was active in plans for a Pacific cable, for the "All-Red Line" of telegraph round the world, and in the Standard Time movement. He became Chancellor of Queen's University and was always keenly interested in its growth. This man of science had the

historical imagination and in 1912 as a result of his efforts there was dedicated at Halifax a beautiful tower to commemorate the first establishment of responsible parliamentary government in Canada, as a stage in the growth of political liberty in the British Empire. It is pleasant to know that Fleming amassed a considerable fortune, and he certainly spent his income generously. The present writer remembers the keen enthusiasm with which the veteran of more than eighty years appealed for interest in the Memorial Tower and the fascination of his conversation.

Mr. Burpee has performed his task with care, but the book is not a very vivid chronicle. Fleming was precisely the type of man whom Robert Louis Stevenson would have taken delight in describing. Mr. Burpee has not put enough poetry and imagination into this sketch of a really great man. The book is, however, a chronicle of Fleming's life and as such it is useful.

Canadian Essays and Addresses. By W. Peterson. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1915. Pp. 373.

The addresses and essays incorporated in this volume cover the period from 1896 to 1914. They include a series of utterances delivered in Canada and in the United States on imperial relations and education, more particularly as expressed by the growth and aims of McGill University. They are of interest as indicating the state of opinion during these years and also as containing certain forecasts of the future and criticisms of the present. The most striking of the forecasts, in view of the present situation, are those with regard to Germany. In an address delivered in 1903 more adequate competition with German trade is urged (p. 29). Again in 1910 attention is drawn to the book *Das kranke England* wherein is the statement that Germany regards herself as "the heir of a feeble England" (p. 100). Further references to the "German Scare" are made in 1910 (p. 114) and in 1913 (p. 142). In an address of 1896 some scheme of imperial federation is advocated as a necessity. With regard to education the importance of a univer-

sity as a body which not only examines but produces men worthy of examination is dealt with at some length, and to gain that end the need of a residential system is urged (p. 265). There are timely warnings of the over-development of technical at the expense of classical education. A striking example is given of the materialistic view of a university in the letter of a young man the refrain of which is "How much can a graduate of your College get and how soon can he get it?" (p. 283). This will suffice to show that the subjects dealt with are worthy of consideration. With the mode of presentation it is easy to quarrel. There is a savour of patronage in the constant reference to the fact that the author is a Canadian by adoption. The mild jokes delivered before different audiences may have a psychological interest as showing how much an audience can stand; but it may be taken as an axiom that the reader stands less. There is infinite repetition; why should the reader be told thrice, when once would have done, that "for myself, I always spell imperial and all its cognate words with a small 'i'?" The book needs more rigorous editing. One half might be omitted and the remainder would be the better for it.

M. Victor Morin writes of *Les Médailles décernées aux Indiens d'Amérique* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, ser. iii, vol. ix, sect. i, pp. 277-354). The Indian subjects of Louis XIV, and likewise those of Victoria, took pleasure in receiving these tokens of their sovereign's interest in them. M. Morin enumerates seven medals struck between 1669 and 1730, the assumed date of the latest of the French medals. No less than nineteen are described for the period of English rule in Canada, the latest being that struck to commemorate the visit to Canada of the present King and Queen in 1901. Figures are given of four of the French, and seventeen of the English medals.

Mr. Herbert George Todd has compiled and published an *Armory and Lineages of Canada* (New York; pp. 90, 22).

The book is in form a kind of peerage or baronetage. But anybody living in Canada, with or without title, and whether born in the country or not, who has a coat of arms, inherited or acquired, and whom the compiler considers prominent enough to deserve mention, gets it. Not only is no title required, in some cases no lineage is necessary. Thus, to take one honourable instance, Sir Sandford Fleming appears under the heading "Fleming of Ottawa". He was born in Scotland. The names of his father and mother are given, and also that of his wife, but nothing is said of ancestors or issue. Other persons are allowed not only their own genealogical tree but those of collateral relations, together with the coats of arms of these collateral branches. In fact, the *raison d'être* of the publication seems to be the coats of arms.

The sixth volume of the *Annual Transactions* of the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada (Brampton: The Conservator Book Department, 1914; pp. 170) contains a great variety of historical papers and addresses read before the Association from 1904 to 1913. The most notable is that entitled "Memoirs of Major Thomas Merritt, U.E.L.", prepared by Lt.-Col. W. Hamilton Merritt. Major Merritt played a distinguished part in the American Revolutionary War and in the War of 1812. The memoirs here presented were dictated by him toward the latter end of his life. They are amply documented with early letters, accounts, orders, etc.; and are illustrated by old prints and photographs. Miss Janet Carnochan contributes some "Reminiscences of William Kirby, F.R.S.C."; the chief interest in this, however, is literary rather than historical. Mr. F. O. Loft writes a biographical sketch of "Captain Joseph Brant—Thayendanega"; but there is nothing new in what he has to say. A sketch of "George Ryerson" by Dr. William Canniff is reprinted from *Belford's Magazine* of 1878. Two general papers relating to the Loyalists are printed, one by the Reverend Chancellor Burwash, entitled "U. E. Loyalists, Founders of Our Institutions", the other by Mr. Fred T. Congden, entitled "Movement of the United Empire Loyalists from

the United States to Canada". Both these papers were originally addresses. Mr. E. M. Chadwick has an interesting and learned article on the flags of the British Empire, entitled "The Flag of Empire". Lastly, Mr. A. B. Scherck tells the story of a sect which came to Canada in Loyalist times, and which still flourishes in the country, the Tunkers. It is a pity that the *format* of the volume is not better: there is a formidable list of errata at the end, and unfortunately the list is not complete.

The *Bulletin* of the Société de Géographie de Québec contains articles of more than geographical interest. *Quelques notes abrégées sur la compagnie du Nord-Ouest et les colonies de Lord Selkirk* is a partial statement of the quarrel between the North-west Company and the Hudson's Bay Company as represented by the Selkirk colony at Fort Garry. A much more important historical paper is that by M. Benjamin Sulte on the battle of the Plains of Abraham. He examines carefully the disposition of forces prior to the battle and the subsequent movements of the French troops under Bougainville. The purpose of the paper is to show that Bougainville missed a great chance of enveloping the English force that had fought and defeated Montcalm's army. That chance, however, depended upon many small factors which did not work in favour of the French. Two statistical articles on the production in Canada of gold, silver and some of the rarer metals are contributed by Professor Henry Laureys. A graphic account of the rediscovery in 1914 by Flaherty of large islands in Hudson Bay is given by M. N. LeVasseur. These islands were discovered to all appearance by Henry Hudson in 1615. They appear on his original chart and were marked on maps printed in 1662. But from that time to the present their position had not been verified by any explorer and they seemed to be entirely mythical. Mr. Flaherty, a mining engineer, in charge of an expedition sent out by Sir William Mackenzie, established the fact that there do really exist three large islands between latitude 55° and 60° near the east coast of the Bay. They are long and narrow,

running north and south and crested by a well-defined range of hills. The *Bulletin* has also papers on geographical nomenclature in the Canadian north-west.

In the sixth volume of the *Transactions* of the Women's Historical Society of Ottawa (pp. 125) a series of papers is printed dealing with the most important treaties in Canadian history. Miss Magdalen Casey discusses the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye in a scholarly manner, and prints the text of the treaty in an appendix. The Treaties of Breda, Ryswick, Utrecht, Aix-la-Chapelle, Paris and Versailles, the Ashburton Treaty and the Treaty of Washington and the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 are all dealt with by separate writers. Finally, a paper is printed dealing with Confederation, which was in a way a treaty: this is *Some Confederation Reminiscences of the Hon. Senator Costigan*, by Senator Costigan's daughter, Mrs. Walter Armstrong. These papers, which are interesting and well written, are in most cases, however, not the work of experts; and they do not add much to the sum of human knowledge. It may be doubted whether local historical societies are best employed in publishing papers of this character.

Most of the *Addresses delivered before the Canadian Club of Montreal, season 1914-1915* (pp. 320) were on the war and Canada's part in it. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught addressed the Club on Septmber 11, 1914, in support of the appeal for "The Patriotic Fund", and was followed by the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux. Sir Sam Hughes spoke on November 23, 1914, his subject being "The Canadian Contingent", the first, which had then recently reached England. Sir Robert Borden, Sir Thomas White, and Sir George Foster were other members of the Cabinet who discussed one or another aspect of the war from a Canadian standpoint. Colonel William Wood, Sir Clifford Sifton, and Mr. George H. Boivin were heard on the same theme. A kindred topic was "The significance to the world of the

hundred years of peace between the British Empire and the U.S.", the subject of Dr. S. M. Crothers. Mr. Sanford Evans in his address on "Some practical national problems" limited himself almost entirely to one problem, that of marketing Canadian farm produce. He pleaded for some proper system of disposing of this produce, in default of which the prices obtained by the farmer are subject to wide fluctuations, and enormous waste is inevitable. Mr. Thomas Adams spoke on "Town planning and the housing problem, with special reference to the city of Montreal", and Mr. James K. Cornwall on the country "From Edmonton to the Arctic" with special reference to the social condition of the scattered settlers.

The *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* continues to fulfil its useful purpose of being a kind of historical "Notes and Queries" for Canada. In addition there are brief articles on obscure personages or on small incidents in the lives of important people. An instance of the latter is M. Benjamin Sulte's article "La Vérenderie avant ses voyages au Nord-Ouest", although why the name should be spelled thus in the title of the article is not clear. Three forms, La Vérenderie, La Vérendrie, and the usual La Vérendrye, are employed in the article itself. Another article of greater weight is "Jean Peronne Dumesnil et ses mémoires" by M. P.-G. Roy. Dumesnil was sent out by the Company of One Hundred Associates in 1660 as controller-general of the affairs of the Company, but there was friction at once between him and the other officials of the colony. The conflict between them went on until Dumesnil's death in 1667, and in the course of it the latter despatched a *Mémoire* and a *Requête* to the king and a *Mémoire* was also presented to Colbert by the Intendant Dupont. These three documents are now printed for the first time. Another document appearing for the first time in print is the *Mémoire* of Gédéon de Catalogne on the seigniories of the three governments of Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal. The *Mémoire* is an authority of first importance for the names of the various seigneurs at the date of it

(1712), and it also contains interesting details as to forests and cultivated land at that time.

The outbreak of the great war lends unusual interest to Mr. J. Castell Hopkins's *Canadian Annual Review* for 1914 (Toronto, 1915; pp. 894, 51). His narrative of the successive steps by which Canada assumed her place in the struggle is prefaced by quotations from utterances during the first part of 1914 by the pacificists or anti-militarists of various shades. These make somewhat amusing reading, and as Mr. Hopkins is careful always to give the name of the speaker or writer whom he quotes, a sort of malicious joy is excited at the spectacle of highly respected persons placed in a rather foolish position by the citation of their confident forecasts of universal peace, of future discredit attaching to the profession of arms, and other theorems. The chronological account of the preparations for sending the first Canadian Contingent and of the other special war measures in Canada is a convenient summary. There is a great deal of quotation from newspapers and from utterances of individuals throughout the volume. The *Canadian Annual Review* becomes thus not only a review "of public affairs" but also a record of published opinions. These will have undoubted value in the retrospect. Mr. Hopkins is, in truth, making easier the path of the future historian.

That admirable quarterly, *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*, has been as full of good things as ever during the past year. M. E.-Z. Massicotte, whose contributions to the *Journal* have been a notable feature of it the last two or three years, writes on the Montreal fire of 1721, under the heading *L'Incendie du Vieux Montréal en 1721*. The paper is largely composed of extracts from original documents not hitherto published, which possess for the local history of Montreal a considerable interest. Two other articles by M. Massicotte dealing with the early history of Montreal are entitled *Fondation d'une Communauté de Frères Instituteurs à Montréal en 1686* and *La Bourse de*

Montréal sous le Régime Français. The first is an interesting contribution to the history of education in New France; the second is a contribution of distinct importance to the economic history of Canada under the old régime. Both papers are based on original materials in the archives of the City of Montreal. The president of the Society, Mr. W. D. Lighthall, contributes a very readable paper on *The Manor House of Lacolle*, in which an account is given of the history of the manor and the seigneurs of Lacolle. M. O.-H.-M. Lapalice, under the title *Les Esclaves Noirs à Montréal sous l'Ancien Régime*, contributes a learned account of black slavery under the French régime. There were apparently more negro slaves in New France than has been generally imagined. M. Benjamin Sulte has two short papers in his characteristic style, one on *Samuel Champlain*, the other on Moore's famous Canadian Boat-Song, "Row, Brothers, Row". The most important paper, however, is one by the late Mr. Justice L. W. Sicotte entitled *The Affair Walker and Trial of Daniel Disney, Esq.* The Walker trial is one of the mysteries of Canadian history. Although there must have been many people in Montreal in 1764 who knew who it was that committed the assault on Thomas Walker in his house in Montreal on December 6, 1764, the identity of the assailants was not disclosed in the courts; and no one since that time has succeeded in solving the problem. Mr. Justice Sicotte used in the preparation of the paper some new materials, but he has succeeded in throwing light on the mystery no better than previous students of the affair. The paper contains some new data for the biographer of Thomas Walker, among them a letter written by the American Commissioners in Montreal in 1776 with regard to Thomas Walker and his wife. The only article relating to numismatics is one by Mr. R. W. McLachlan entitled *When was the Vexator Canadensis Issued?* As the token, however, which is the subject of this article was a political token, the article has a political interest, as revealing a mode of agitation employed by the French-Canadian *patriotes* before 1837. As in previous years, M. Victor Morin con-

tributes to each number of the *Journal* a series of notes headed *Memoranda.*

The *Canadian Magazine* has a considerable number of articles of an historical character. The series entitled *The real Strathcona,* by Dr. George Bryce, has been dealt with elsewhere. Another series under the heading *Famous Canadian Trials* embraces accounts of Canadian *causes célèbres* by various authors. Some of these are interesting to the historical student merely because they illustrate the condition of Canadian social life at their respective dates. But others had political significance and raised questions involving national policy. The trial of Alexander McLeod related by Dr. A. H. U. Colquhoun, is of that nature. He was accused of taking a leading part in the burning of the *Caroline,* an American vessel lying in American waters, but chartered by the rebels of 1837. Another international case was that of Bennett Burley, a Scotsman enlisted in the cause of the Confederate government, who attacked and destroyed a peaceable American merchant vessel in Canadian waters. Extradition was obtained. Mr. C. S. Blue, who writes the account, reminds the reader that the hero of the proceedings subsequently became celebrated as an English war correspondent under the name Bennett Burleigh, and died on the eve of the present war, in June 1914. Yet another international case, described by Mr. Frank Yeigh, was that of Anderson, a runaway negro slave from Missouri, who in effecting his escape had stabbed and killed a southern planter. Extradition was demanded, but after more than one court had heard the application the American government dropped the proceedings. Among the trials that had political significance, although not threatening international complications, was that of certain British officers for the assault on Thomas Walker, merchant and magistrate of Montreal, soon after the British conquest of Canada. The case is familiarly known as "Walker's Ear". The present account is written by Mr. A. Gordon Dewey. Two celebrated trials of a much later date are those of Riel in 1885 and of Lepine,

Riel's lieutenant in the earlier rising, both related by Mr. Britton Cooke. The trial of Benjamin Mott, a rebel of an earlier generation, is related by Mr. Irving E. Struthers. Mr. John Lewis describes the fate of a motion to commit George Brown for contempt of court. Brown conducted his own defence, or rather his arraignment of his political opponents, and the whole affair is highly characteristic of the man. An article by Mr. C. S. Blue, entitled *The German legion in Canada*, is an interesting account of the German troops sent out to aid the British against the American revolting colonists. They were mercenaries, recruited in the Duchies of Brunswick and Hesse, and while doing a certain service in clearing Canada of the enemy after the failure of Montgomery's attempt on Quebec, they seem to have been a source of weakness, partly from disaffection. The author suggests that they were on the verge of mutiny against Burgoyne and precipitated the disaster at Saratoga. The sources of the article are to a great extent the journals of the Baron von Riedesel, the commander of the German troops, and those of his accomplished wife. Mr. R. F. Dixon gives an account of *Eddy's War*, a small insurrection about the isthmus of Chignecto, during the American revolutionary war, headed by one Eddy, a settler from New England. He incidentally quotes from contemporary letters to the effect that Washington himself had written and sent presents to Indian tribes in New Brunswick to induce them to rise against the British inhabitants. An article by Mr. Clarance M. Warner, *The growth of Canadian national feeling*, is not so much history as an interpretation of history; it shows a broad grasp of the essential facts and significant movements. Professor W. P. M. Kennedy contributes his "bit" towards the true understanding of *Wolfe at Quebec*. His main argument, well supported by documentary and other evidence, is that Wolfe alone, and not the council of Brigadiers, devised the plan of attack which proved successful. A biographical sketch of Thomas D'Arcy McGee, by Mr. John Mackey, recalls a remarkable career cut short by the hand of a murderer. Mr. G. W. Bartlett introduces and comments upon

extracts from the *Diary of Robert Campbell*, the Hudson's Bay Company's factor who explored the Upper Stikine, the Pelly and other sources of the great Yukon river in the early half of the nineteenth century.

La Nouvelle France contained one important work which has been running as a serial throughout the year and is not yet completed. This is Father Morice's *Essai sur l'origine des Dénés*, which obtains special notice on a later page of this volume. The historical papers are mainly ecclesiastical. Thus *Les Capucins en Acadie*, by Fathers Albéric and Alexis, runs through three numbers, giving an account of the mission work of the order in Acadia from its commencement in 1632 to 1650. The history of the mission is to be continued in further issues, and will doubtless appear in book form. It seems to be based on original authorities, but in its present incomplete state it would be inadvisable to review it at length. The Abbé Lindsay continues his biography of Dom Urbain Guillet. Father Simard gives a sketch of the history of the University of Ottawa, which was founded in 1848 as a College, and became a university in 1866, changing its style in 1889 to that of The Catholic University of Ottawa. A controversial article by M. Raphael Gervais, *L'immunité réelle*, discusses the exemption from taxation of ecclesiastical property, and suggests amendments to the existing law.

The principal articles in *Queen's Quarterly* relating to Canadian history and economics are reviewed separately elsewhere. Other articles of interest that appeared in its pages during the year may be briefly noted. *Canadian ocean steamships and their early difficulties*, by W. Smith, describes the course of negotiations between the British and Canadian Governments from 1851 on, having in view the establishment of a regular direct mail service between Canada and England with a subvention by the Home Government. The establishment of the Canadian Steamship Line, the original Allan line, under the control of Mr. Hugh Allan, was the result. Many vessels were lost at first, and it was not until after a

new contract had been made in 1863 that the venture of a Canadian route proved successful. Mr. J. C. Gwillim, in *Notes of a northwestern trail*, describes a journey by caravan in 1892 from Regina to La Crosse lake in the region of the sources of the Churchill river. Except as a picture of travel at the time it has no significance. The death of Sir Sandford Fleming, Chancellor of Queen's University, was the occasion of two appreciative sketches by Principal Gordon and Professor Dupuis.

The *Revue Canadienne* contains several articles of historical interest, chief of which is M. P. G. Roy's *Un conseil de guerre à Montréal (1757)*. The court-martial was held to try for desertion eight soldiers of German birth who had been recruited for one of the French regiments sent to New France at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. The *procès-verbal* of the proceedings is given. The deserters were found guilty and shot. M. Benjamin Sulte has a paper entitled *En pays de mission (1641-1647)*, which deals desultorily with Indian wars and treaties during the period in question. The *Relations des Jésuites* are his chief authority. An account of the devoted priest, Jean-Mandé Sigogne, and his work among the Acadians who remained in or returned to Nova Scotia is contributed by L. E. Cousineau under the title *Un sauveur de la race acadienne.* The Abbé Lionel Groulx has a series of articles on *Nos luttes constitutionnelles (1791-1840)*, in which the issues at stake throughout that formative period are clearly stated. The establishment of French-Canadian settlements in the Eastern Townships has been going on for nearly fifty years, and M. C. Edmond Chartier describes the process in the case of three townships, under the title *La Colonie de rapatriement.* Ecclesiastical considerations have had much to do with the movement. An article of peculiar interest is that entitled *Le prétendu drapeau de Carillon*, by Pierre Sailly, because Pierre Sailly is none other than the veteran littérateur, Ernest Gagnon, and this article contributed over a pseudonym was probably his last effort.

United Empire is devoted almost entirely to the progress of the war, and the share of the oversea dominions in the great contest. There is one article of historical value by Evans Lewin, *The Nova Scotia baronets* (pp. 49-55, 137-140, 224-227), in which is given the origin of Sir William Alexander's curious authority to bestow the title, with extracts from the charters granted by James I and Charles I. The whole matter was complicated by the hypothetical sovereignty of Alexander over territory in Nova Scotia from which he professed to make grants to the new baronets. Many of them held tenaciously to their shadowy rights to these estates, and as late as 1848 claims upon the British Government were made for the conveyance of unsettled lands in New Brunswick to the representatives of the original baronets in satisfaction of the grants by Alexander two centuries before. There appeared also American claimants to the title and estates of Alexander himself, whose descendants were supposed to have died out in the middle of the eighteenth century. Mr. Lewin's articles give a sketch of some of the controversies and suits at law that were the harvest of the original lighthearted bounty of James and Charles. The question of closer union within the Empire is occupying the thoughts of many. An account of the defunct Imperial Federation League by W. Basil Worsfold (pp. 263-273) is interesting and may be studied with profit in this connection. Other efforts to promote a workable scheme of joint or co-operative government are also sketched in articles by various writers under the general title *Kindred Societies past and present.* Among these kindred societies are included the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee, the British Empire League, the Overseas Club, the League of the Empire, and others less obviously political in their objects. The large number of these successors to the original Imperial Federation League shows how widespread in Great Britain is the interest in the question and how pressing the demand for a solution.

The *University Magazine* has for its chief themes the war and aspects of war. There are few articles on Canadian

topics. Of these few by far the best is Professor Colby's *Day after Confederation*, in which he attempts some appraisement of the statesmanship of the "Fathers of Confederation". In spite of the undeniable political time-serving of Sir John Macdonald, Professor Colby finds at the bottom of all his manoeuvring a fundamental constructive purpose to weld together not only the provinces of the Dominion but the Dominion and the mother-country. Another interesting article from the pen of Professor Colby is *Champlain's explorations in 1615*. In this paper he sums up and describes the events of that great year in Champlain's life when he accompanied the Hurons on their war party against the Iroquois about Lake Oneida, and returned with them to their villages to spend a winter among them. Professor Colby speaks more than once of the publication of Champlain's *Bref Discours*, commonly known as the West Indies voyage. This is hardly correct, for although the results of that voyage were no doubt well known at court and in the circle of explorers and overseas traders, yet the manuscript remained unprinted, forgotten and probably lost for two hundred and fifty years. The text was first printed in Laverdière's edition of the complete works in 1870. A translation had been published by the Hakluyt Society eleven years earlier. In Mr. Fairchild's paper, *Benedict Arnold*, that leader's doubtful conduct as an actor on both sides in the war of the American Revolution is very plausibly defended. Mr. L. J. Burpee gives a clear statement of the objects in view in the establishment of the *International Joint Commission*, and briefly refers to some of the work already accomplished. After the first number of the year the *University Magazine* lost the valuable services of its first and only editor, Dr. Andrew Macphail, who went to the front as a Field Ambulance officer. The editorship was put into commission pending his return. It must be confessed that numerous misprints seem to have passed the committee. Professor Colby, for instance, on page 349, is made to say the exact opposite of what he means. A few pages later he compares Champlain's Indians to the "noble seaman (*sic*)

as depicted by Chateaubriand and Fenimore Cooper". Mr. Blackwood informs us that Indian summer is in England called "St. Charles summer", by attraction obviously from a few lines below where Fort St. Charles is mentioned.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society. Volume xviii. Halifax, 1914. Pp. xlii, 224.

In appearance, typography, proof-reading and contents, this volume of the Nova Scotia Historical Society's *Collections* marks a decided advance over its immediate predecessors. The greatest defect is the inadequacy of the index. To Mr. Beckles Willson is given the place of honour. As he is an acknowledged authority on everything relating to Wolfe, his paper "Wolfe's Men and Nova Scotia" represents simply the overflow of his knowledge. Cornwallis, the founder of Halifax, was Wolfe's superior officer in the 20th Foot. Alexander Murray who commanded Fort Edward was with Wolfe at Quebec. Among others associated with Wolfe and with Nova Scotia was Des Barres, producer of the famous charts. The paper is full of vivid interest. A very careful account of Jonathan Belcher, the first Chief-Justice of Nova Scotia, is written by the present Chief-Justice, Sir Charles Townshend. Belcher came of an old Boston family, and studied law in the Middle Temple before he went to Nova Scotia in 1754 to become the head of the judiciary and to agitate for the provincial Assembly which the authorities were not inclined to establish. His pedigree forms an important part of the paper. His grandson was Admiral Belcher of the Royal Navy, who conducted the worst-managed Arctic expedition on record. The paper "Dock Yard Reminiscences" needs explanatory and critical notes; it is disfigured by some misprints, like 'Emelaus' and 'Nympthe'. Without careful explanation it can have little historical value. "Early Scottish Settlers in Cape Breton" is chiefly a compilation from various sources of data illustrating the hardships and privations of the pioneers. The most valuable paper by far is "Artists in Nova Scotia", by

Harry Piers, Curator of the Provincial Museum. It represents a most extensive and minute research into the works and lives of all limners of all descriptions who ever exercised their art in Nova Scotia. One great excellence is the writer's habit of distinguishing between fact and hearsay. The paper covers the whole period of Nova Scotia history from Champlain's sketch of the habitation at Port Royal to the year 1914. A useful 'summary' serves also the purpose of an index. Mr. Piers would have found an amusing review of the first exhibition of pictures in Halifax (1830) in *The Halifax Monthly Magazine*. "The Postage Stamps of Nova Scotia" contains much useful information on this subject.

In view of the marked improvement in every respect, it is to be regretted that the directorate of the Society has not repudiated more decidedly the spurious portraits which have been foisted into its volumes. It published the well known portrait of Stringer Lawrence as the portrait of Charles Lawrence, and also the (Reynolds) portrait of Professor Adam Ferguson as the portrait of the same Charles Lawrence; and finally the Whichelo portrait of Nelson as the portrait of Governor Parr. On page xxvii appears this note: "The Council desires to state that the Society does not hold itself responsible . . . for the authenticity of the portraits furnished". Such a note shows that the Society does not understand its responsibilities. It exists for the propagation of historic fact, not grotesque fiction; and it is under no obligation to publish any portrait whatever. If it does, it should, as far as possible, guarantee its authenticity.

The Great Fortress. A Chronicle of Louisbourg, 1720-1760. By William Wood. (The Chronicles of Canada.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1915. Pp. viii, 144.

In the history of the French stronghold of Louisbourg, Colonel Wood has a subject fitted to his hand. He has had military experience and he writes, by choice, of moving incidents by flood and field. The story of Louisbourg is

the story of two sieges, and, although the chronicler professes to tell the whole story of Louisbourg for the first time, there is really very little more to tell. A few details might have been gleaned from the three volumes of *Nova Scotia Archives* and the *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society; but until Mr. J. S. Maclennan's more ambitious history is published, the present volume will be the most complete work on the subject. How it will ever be displaced as a popular handbook is difficult to see. Colonel Wood writes from full knowledge, not only of his immediate theme, but of the larger events to which the episode of Louisbourg was related. Humour, command of detail, an engaging style combine to make this book most readable. In common with most historians, Wood condemns Loudoun for his inaction at Halifax in the summer of 1757: but on the other hand it should be pointed out that his release of the troops from confinement in the unspeakable transports must have been a godsend to them; and exercising them in siege tactics was the part of a wise commander. Even the cabbage-planting, the target of so many sneers, was a sensible thing to do, in view of the scurvy which prevailed in every long voyage of that time. Loudoun had 12,000 men to feed and keep in health; to provide vegetables for them would be a task beyond the capacity of the "commandant at the base". Corbett puts the reasons for the failure to attack very clearly in *England in the Seven Years' War*, an authority not quoted in the bibliographical note. In the account of Wolfe's landing in 1758, it might have been thought worthy of record that Lawrence, the Governor of Nova Scotia who expelled the Acadians, commanded the centre division of the attacking boats. The trade of the Acadians with Cape Breton, mentioned on page 8, was profitable. It was carried on by way of Chignecto and Baie Verte.

Archdeacon Raymond publishes in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada (Third Series, vol. viii, sect. ii, pp. 415-52) *The First Governor of New Brunswick and the Acadians of the River St. John.* The first Governor of New

Brunswick was Colonel Thomas Carleton, youngest brother of the famous Sir Guy, who saved Canada for the Empire in the American Revolution. He entered the Army as a volunteer in the 20th Foot, Wolfe's regiment, and came of age just at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. He saw service at Rochefort, Minden and the siege of Wesel. During the ensuing peace, he did garrison duty with his regiment at Gibraltar, or travelled, picking up as he did so an acquaintance with several foreign languages. During the American Revolution, he was Quartermaster-General in the Northern Army under his brother. When the loyalist province of New Brunswick was formed in 1784 by fission from Nova Scotia, he was appointed to be its official head. Apparently he was reluctant to accept office; but he proceeded in the work of organizing a government with energy and success. "He was admired for his integrity, firmness and benevolence". His chief problem was the land. The major part of this paper is devoted to a rebuttal of several unfounded assertions regarding the withdrawal of Acadian families from the river St. John. The writer shows that the Acadians were not all removed, for many are there to this day; that a number went of their own free will to new lands granted to them at Madawaska; and that some received compensation for their improvements. Several other lurid tales receive their quietus. The paper is a good piece of historical research, impartial, temperate in statement, and amply documented.

The Tribune of Nova Scotia. A Chronicle of Joseph Howe. By William Lawson Grant. (The Chronicles of Canada.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1915. Pp. viii, 163.

Within the compass of some one hundred and fifty pages, Professor Grant has succeeded in presenting the essential Howe, the man and his activities. This "chronicle" supersedes everything that has been written hitherto on the great Nova Scotian, even the brilliant sketch by the author's father; for, within its limits, it is complete. Professor Grant

writes from the point of view of the trained historian and is therefore able to relate the democratic struggles in the little British province to the larger movements outside. As a son of the province, he comes naturally under the fascination of Howe's magnetic personality, and interprets to the outside world the great tradition of the Nova Scotian statesman. This was necessary, for Canada as a whole looks rather askance at Howe's claims to greatness; because Canada knows him only as the opponent of Confederation, and the advocate of "better terms". In Dominion politics he played, in truth, rather a sorry part. Professor Grant does Howe justice; he writes with warmth, as every one must, who deals with such a living force; but he praises with discrimination and he does not spare Howe's faults. Wisely he allows Howe to speak for himself wherever possible; and it is curious to note how quotable are his deliverances and how well they stand the test of modern criticism.

Exception might be taken to the statement on page 35: "Yet when, in 1820 and again in 1838, an attempt was made to found Dalhousie College at Halifax on a more liberal basis, etc." Dalhousie College was "founded" once for all in 1818, when Lord Dalhousie obtained permission from Lord Bathurst to set aside the Castine Fund for the establishment of a "seminary for the education of youth in the higher branches of science and literature". It was modelled on Edinburgh University and embodied the Liberal principle that no test, religious or political, should be required of either staff or students. The significance of the date 1820 is that in May of that year Lord Dalhousie laid the corner-stone of the first building on the northern end of the Grand Parade. In 1838, Dalhousie College went into operation for the first time, with Dr. McCulloch, the founder of Pictou Academy, as Principal, who continued to function until his death in 1843. What Professor Grant had in mind was probably the two attempts (1822-24 and 1829-36) to amalgamate Dalhousie with King's College, which came to nothing, like all similar efforts since.

The "Mr. Bromley" mentioned on page 13 was Captain

Walter Bromley, ex-paymaster of the 23rd Fusiliers, an active philanthropist and educational reformer, who laboured especially among the negroes and the Indians.

Canada needs a full critical biography of Howe, based not only on his printed "remains" but also on the rich manuscript material in the Dominion Archives. It should include a study of his activities as a journalist, and his relation to those two remarkable enterprizes, *The Acadian* (1826) and *The Halifax Monthly Magazine*. Perhaps Professor Grant will find time to perform this important task.

In three carefully written articles entitled *Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia* (*Americana*, April, August, September, 1915), Dr. Arthur Wentworth Eaton deals with the more important aspects of eighteenth-century Halifax, the founding of the city, the coming of the Boston Tories, and social life there after the Revolution. It is a rich subject, for the first sixty-five years of Halifax's existence are crammed with colour and incident. Dr. Eaton contends that it was essentially an "American" city, on account of its original settlers coming from the adjoining colony of Massachusetts. But its reason for existing was to be a naval base and a garrison town. The directing classes were British, not American; the ideas and tone were likewise increasingly British after the coming of the Loyalists and down to the close of the gigantic struggle with the French Republic and Napoleon. The military importance of Halifax has been manifest in every great war of the Empire; not least in the present war. Again, Dr. Eaton hardly weighs sufficiently the Scottish influence in Halifax as indicated by the establishment of a national society as early as 1768, soon to be followed by an Irish, and an English organization of the same nature. For nearly a century Halifax had never less than three line regiments in garrison at a time, with their complement of artillery and engineers: their officers, all aristocrats under the old purchase system, formed a very large part of the local society, which had for its basis a wealthy and cultivated merchant class. It would be nearer the mark

to call Halifax a British garrison town on this side of the Atlantic. In his third chapter, Dr. Eaton produces some interesting new material on social life in Halifax from manuscript sources.

In the same magazine (*Americana*, January, February, March, 1915) appears *Rhode Island Settlers on the French lands in Nova Scotia in 1760 and 1761*, by the same author. Dr. Eaton, whose special field is the relations of Nova Scotia with New England, has given in these papers the fullest account of one stream of immigration into the province. The Seven Years' War was not over before a large number of settlers from Rhode Island flocked into the fertile lands of Acadie which had not been ploughed or sown for the five years following the deportation of the French. Governor Lawrence was the prime mover in this policy of plantation. To remove a quasi-hostile people was only one-half his scheme. The other half was to bring in loyal, capable farmers accustomed to New World conditions. An Englishman and a soldier himself, he would not consider disbanded soldiers or sailors as settlers. He had seen the experiment tried in the founding of Halifax; he had seen it fail, and he resolved not to repeat it. His "plantation" of the most fertile parts of Nova Scotia by New Englanders was a decided success. One has only to compare Clare, where the repatriated Acadians have lived for more than a century, with Hants county, to draw the necessary inferences. Dr. Eaton is right in emphasizing the American character of the province, the western portion, at any rate. He gives plentiful detail and his information is carefully documented. The Rhode Islanders were undoubtedly caught with the bait of free land; but why did they leave their long-established homes in one of the best parts of America? Legend says local distress drove them out; but the local records are dumb on the subject. Dr. Eaton is most conscientious, but he cannot wholly clear up the matter.

The Tourist's Maritime Provinces, with chapters on the Gaspé shore, Newfoundland and Labrador and the Miquelon Island, by Ruth Kedzie Wood (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company; pp. 440), is a competent guide-book. There is a wealth of information, such as the traveller needs and expects to find in such a work, about routes, fares, accommodations, hotel-rates; and the information is clearly arranged. The historical information is generally trustworthy, and put in a way to interest and allure the intelligent traveller to the scenes of the events discussed. In the multitude of detail a certain amount of error has crept in. The writer's love of picturesque incident had led her to place too easy credence in the tale of the Duke of Wellington's Spanish mistress, which is told at Annapolis Royal. The date of *The Rising Village* (p. 140) is 1824, not 1834; and the foot-note on the same page giving the location of "Sweet Auburn" is otiose. The ancestors of the Acadians were not Bretons, as stated on page 162. Only a handful of Bretons ever came to settle in the new world. The first settlers in Acadie came from the region about Rochelle. The well-known song of Gérin-Lajoie is quoted on page 162, called "the national air" of the Acadians, and modified to suit the statement, e.g., *Un Acadien errant*, etc. It is "the lamp of memory" which makes any landscape interesting, and that lamp shines into every nook and corner of the provinces beside the Atlantic.

The History of the Catholic Church in Prince Edward Island from 1835 till 1891, by the Reverend John C. Macmillan (Quebec: L'Evènement Printing Company, 1913; pp. xv, 486) is a record which deals exclusively with learned and saintly prelates and their zealous and pious priests. Thus it cannot fail to be a trifle monotonous. It is in fact as colourless as a mediaeval chronicle, which it so strongly resembles. The appointment, ordination, removal and death of parish priests, the building of churches, schools, and convents, the coming and departure of bishops,—these make the staple of the record. Except for religious contro-

versies, in which the Protestant dogs never get the best of it, and the machinations of evil-minded politicians, the history of the Catholic Church in the "Garden of the Gulf" is a tale of smooth, uninterrupted progress for more than half a century.

2. The Province of Quebec

Délégués Canadiens-français en Angleterre de 1763 à 1867. Objet de leur mission. Aperçu sur leur temps et leur carrière. Par Georges Bellerive. Québec: Librairie Garneau [1913]; pp. viii, 238.

This book appears to have been issued in 1913 but has only now come under our notice. Much, indeed, remains to be desired in the literary organization of the province of Quebec for letting the world know what books have been published. The volume contains no original research, being based chiefly on the standard histories of Garneau, Turcotte and others, but it has value because it brings together all the chief occasions in which the French-Canadians have sent representation to London to state their views. It is interesting to note that in almost every case the French have secured what they aimed at.

The Chevalier de Léry is the first to be noticed. He was one of the *noblesse* of Canada who returned to France after the fall of Montreal. He was sent to London in 1763 to assure George III of the loyalty of the new subjects in Canada. After remaining six years in Europe he and others of his class returned to Canada and showed their devoted loyalty during the American Revolution. The Chevalier Charest, seigneur of Lauzon, was sent in 1763 to beg for the liberty of organization of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada. He failed, at the time, and sold his property and left Canada forever. What he aimed at was, however, in the end done. There follow in chronological order accounts of other missions. M. de Montgolfier was sent by the Chapter of Quebec to try to get a Bishop appointed. Monseigneur Briand went a little later and, in the end, was made Bishop. M. Chartier de Lotbinière went in the interests of the Canadian seigneurs and had some share in shaping the Quebec Act. M. Baby went in 1772 in the interests of retaining the French laws for the French in Canada. Pierre

Calvet, seigneur of Chambly, went to protest against the despotism of Haldimand, who succeeded Carleton as governor. Calvet declared that the governor should be subject to the laws of the province and proposed that six members from Canada should sit in the British Parliament and that naturalization in Canada should give citizenship throughout the whole British Empire, something which has not yet been done. Later envoys were the stormy Louis Joseph Papineau, D. B. Viger, A. N. Morin and Sir George Cartier, the last to urge the desirability of federating Canada.

In all M. Bellerive describes about twenty missions. He gives a useful biographical sketch of each of the envoys and a quite clear account of their objects. Basing his work largely upon Garneau, as he does, he adopts Garneau's too severe tone in respect to the arbitrary character of British rule. But pervading the book is a belief in the ultimate love of justice on the part of Great Britain. The record is one of triumph for the isolated French society on the St. Lawrence. From the first these people were determined to maintain their separate identity unimpaired and the province of Quebec is to-day the evidence of their success. It is interesting to remember that since 1867 there have been no such delegations to London. In the interval the French nationalists have become the aggressors and are now asserting in other parts of Canada rights not dreamed of by these delegates.

Montreal 1535-1914. By William Henry Atherton. Three volumes. Montreal, Vancouver, Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1914; pp. xxv, 450; xxvi, 673; 686.

The history of the largest city of Canada has received, in Dr. Atherton's volumes, comprehensive treatment. The number of pages, each of which carries an unusually large amount of type, will indicate the extent of the material he presents to his readers. The arrangement of this material in the first and second volumes is, at least in its larger aspects,

not unhappy. The first volume is devoted to the French régime, a disproportionate treatment which, in view of the greater interest attaching to the beginnings of things and the obscurities of long ago, may reasonably be tolerated. Of the second volume the first two hundred and fifty pages are occupied by the narrative of the city's history since the British conquest, the remainder by an historical treatment of various special topics—religious denominations, schools, universities, general culture, national origins of the population, public safety services, law and order, hospitals, sociological movements, commercial history, finance, transportation, city improvement. The third volume need not be considered here. It is occupied by biographical sketches of living—or recently deceased—Montrealers, and may have interest for writers of the future, but to the scholar of the present it bears so clearly the mark of the subscription-seeker as to be likely to render suspect the whole work.

In treatment of its subject matter Dr. Atherton's production is a great improvement on many older local histories. These took the form largely of guide books in which historical facts and untrustworthy anecdotes were accumulated on a topographical plan, street by street and house by house. Here a praiseworthy and undoubtedly laborious attempt has been made to present a record of the city's past in the form of an historical narrative, and as an integral part of the history of the country as a whole. To maintain a due balance between the local and the national in such a design is no easy task; the author would have been well advised if he had more frequently restrained his hand and left the details of the general story of Canada to be sought elsewhere. There are also indications that he was not able to give the book the careful final revision that the importance of the subject deserved.

For the uses of scholarship the work will be unsatisfactory. To issue a book of this size and character without an index is a crime. Occasional footnotes or interpolations in the text give references to sources, but the *apparatus*

criticus is utterly inadequate. There is an incomplete list of maps, no bibliography, and no analysis or even list of sources. In form the volumes are clumsy and unattractive. The typographical work is clear, but lacks distinction. The numerous illustrations are interesting, and many of them historically valuable; in execution they have little artistic merit, but they are at least clear-cut.

Had Mr. George Gale, the author of *Quebec 'twixt old and new* (Quebec: Telegraph Printing Co.; pp. ix, 296) adhered to his professed intention "to make this volume one of living memories, as far as possible, either those of my own recollections for some fifty odd years, or of older people, with whom I am personally acquainted," he might have produced a work of some value to the future historian. The amount of true personal reminiscence which he offers his readers is, however, slight, and its character for the most part trivial. His material is mainly of the kind which could be extracted from the files of local periodicals, and the larger portion of the text is devoted to the first half of the last century or earlier periods. The absence of any evidence of appreciation of the value of authorities must prevent the student from placing reliance on the information offered. The author's knowledge of general Canadian history is vague: the Quebec Act is said to have established legislative government, and the Act of Union ministerial responsibility; the leader in Upper Canada of the Rebellion of 1837 was "Peter Baldwin". Local knowledge is occasionally equally at fault. The arrangement of the material is as bad as it conceivably could be, and there is no index. Almost every sentence is marred by neglect of the elementary rules of English composition. The opening words of the text may be taken as a not unfair indication of its literary shortcomings:

> "An interesting summary concerning Lower Canada and the City of Quebec in particular, in the early days of the nineteenth century, will no doubt, be of interest."

The book may make some appeal to the general reader,

especially if he be interested in haphazard local information regarding Canada's ancient capital. Perhaps its best passages are those which treat of the lumber and ship-building industries, and of the achievements of Quebec-built sailing vessels. There are a number of moderately good illustrations.

Les Actes des Trois Premiers Tabellions de Montréal 1648-1657, by E. Z. Massicotte (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Series iii, Vol. ix, Sect. 1, pp. 189-204) will have a value for lawyers. It is a detailed list of the acts registered by the first three notaries in Montreal, Jean de Saint-Père, Raphael Lambert Closse and Gastineau-Duplessis. The author gives a sketch of the life of each of these notaries and follows with a summary of the first seventy-one registrations. They relate to lands, contracts of marriage, commercial contracts, inventories and sales of goods, and other things.

The Memoirs of Philippe Aubert de Gaspé and his novel, *Les Anciens Canadiens*, supply the material for *Les Souvenirs d'un seigneur Canadien*, by André Bellesort in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (August 1, 1915; pp. 646-72). The author cleverly weaves together the experiences related by Gaspé into a picture of social life at Quebec in the early part of the nineteenth century.

The Abbé Charles-Édouard Mailhot has written an exhaustive monograph on *Les Bois-francs* (Arthabaska, 1914; pp. 474). The Bois-francs is a district of the province of Quebec on the south side of the St. Lawrence river, forming part of the counties of Arthabaska and Megantic. It was heavily forested and untenanted up to 1825. The fertility of the soil soon attracted a number of hardy pioneers, and the density of the population is now more than 20 to the square mile. The Abbé Mailhot relates the history of colonization in this territory, with dithyrambic passages on

the beauty of the surroundings and on the life of the settler. The chapter entitled "Il y a cinquante ans" which enlarges upon the latter topic, giving descriptions of religious festivals, and other occasions for social diversions, is perhaps the most valuable in the book. The ecclesiastical history of the various parishes occupies the greater part of the volume and calls for no special comment.

The province of Quebec is always prolific of local histories; the *Histoire de Saint-Martin*, on Isle Jésus near Montreal, by J.-Ad. Froment (Joliette; pp. 118), is a primitive and naïve account of the parish which dates from 1774. The changes and improvements in the church and the succession of the curés are the vital things in the volume. There is also an account of the lay agencies in the town and a long report of the celebration of the "noces d'or" of the curé, the Abbé Leblanc, with lists of the presents, the persons in attendance and so on. It is interesting to see how important are regarded all the details of the celebration. Of a similar character is the pamphlet by the Abbé Benj. Demers containing *Quelques Notes Historiques sur les missionaires, curés . . . de la paroisse . . . dite La Pointe aux Trembles* (Quebec, L'Action Sociale; pp. 24). This is a succession of biographical sketches of the eleven curés.

Rather more vital than arid sketches of parish history is M. Arthur Joyal's *Excursion Sacerdotale chez les Tête-de-Boule* (Cap-de-la-Madeleine; pp. 87). These Indians are the survivors of the Algonquins and Montagnais and number perhaps six hundred. Their village Wémontasping is near the line of the new Transcontinental Railway, lying west of Lac St. Jean, in the province of Quebec. The cause of the volume was a visit by Monseigneur Latulippe to the mission in 1914 with a company, chiefly of priests, which filled twenty canoes. The author in his preliminary matter goes far afield in describing the work and hardships of the Jesuit and other missionaries among the natives in Quebec

in the seventeenth century and later. It is sad to note that drink is a curse to this remnant of the natives of the country, that they are deteriorating and will, the author thinks, ultimately disappear.

It is a good sign that the observation of nature and its expression in attractive literary form are making headway in Canada. Mr. Peter McArthur's *In Pastures Green* which we review elsewhere relates to Ontario. The province of Quebec, if less fertile, has the greater natural beauty of sea and mountain and some of its charms are set forth in Mr. W. H. Blake's *Brown Waters and other Sketches* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company; pp. 264). There are eight essays. "Brown Waters", "Fontinalis" and "The Wing-footed or Shining One" deal chiefly with fishing and are full of the fisherman's wisdom. "Do not the keener disappointments of life flow from attainment rather than failure" (p. 25). "The weather for catching fish is that weather and no other in which fish are caught" (p. 29). Though "The Laurentides National Park" lies only forty miles from the city of Quebec it has a wonderful variety of big game which Mr. Blake describes. It is only twenty years since the last of the Montagnais Indians disappeared from this wild tract. The timber wolf destroys many caribou but Mr. Blake is hopeful that this creature is not declining in numbers. He has words of scorn for the hunter who kills game needlessly. Trout weighing eight or nine pounds are not uncommon. The last four essays include a thrilling ghost story, and some accounts of journeys in the region about Murray Bay. Mr. Blake has a deep affection for the French Canadians with whom his hunting experiences have brought him into contact. They are tireless in their service, courteous, devout, delicate in feeling and entirely lovable. "You will travel far to find a people who bear greater good will to their fellow men and are readier to show it in speech and act". In this book they have a champion who is master of a delightful style.

The Abbé Benjamin Demers publishes a pamphlet *Un des premiers colons d'Etchemin, P.Q., Jean DuMet ou Demers* (Quebec, 1914; pp. 20) in which he amplifies somewhat the account of his ancestor which appeared in his book on the family Demers (see REVIEW, vol. XI, p. 123). Jean DuMet came from Dieppe with two brothers (or a brother and a cousin) in 1650. After some changes of habitation he settled at Etchemin in the seigniory of Lauzon about four miles above Quebec. The record of his life there is the recital of the birth of children and their baptisms. The descendants of Jean and his brother are now very numerous, as may be inferred when we learn that Jean and his wife had twelve children and about eighty grandchildren. The name DuMet somehow became Demers. The author can give no reason for the change.

Brother Élie has compiled two family histories, *La Famille Casavant* (Montreal: La "Croix", 1914; pp. 76), and *La Famille Phaneuf-Farnsworth* (Montreal: La "Croix"; pp. 264). The Canadian founder of the former family was a soldier who, according to the fashion of the time, was known in his regiment by a nickname. In this instance we may charitably hope that the nickname was a military jest, for it was "Ladébauche". Jean Casavant, *dit* Ladébauche, is introduced to documentary history by a deed of 1676 in which his name is spelled Cazebon, but the entry of his marriage in 1681 gives the modern form of the name. The most celebrated of his descendants are the members of the firm of Casavant Frères, whose church and concert organs are well known and admired throughout North America. The genealogy of the family Sicard de Carufel is added, that being the family of the wife of Joseph Casavant, who established the organ factory. The Phaneuf-Farnsworth connection presents a more formidable array of names. As the author says in his preface, the divine command to increase and multiply has been realized to a remarkable degree in this family, in which one thousand marriages have been traced within the space of almost exactly two hundred years.

The double name in the title is intended to show the origin of the name. The original ancestor was an Englishman named Matthias Farnsworth, a native apparently of the town (then no doubt the village) of Farnsworth in Lancashire. He was a Puritan and emigrated to New England a little later than 1650; his English-speaking descendants are found in various parts of the United States, and a family record enumerating 5000 of them was printed in that country in 1897. The Canadian ancestor was taken captive by Indians when a boy of fourteen and carried to Montreal. This was in the year 1704. He was brought up a Roman Catholic and became a naturalized subject of France. His name promptly changes, appearing first as Farneth, then Farnets, and finally, in his marriage contract, Fanef. Later generations spelled the name Faneuf and Phaneuf. The latter form is the one at present used.

In the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, there are two papers relating to a Jewish family that played a part in the early history of Lower Canada. The first is an annotated reprint of the *Proceedings Relating to the Expulsion of Ezekiel Hart from the House of Assembly of Lower Canada*, contributed by Rabbi Julius J. Price (No. 23, pp. 43-53). Ezekiel Hart was a merchant of Three Rivers. The other is a short paper, *Unpublished Canadian State Papers Relating to Benjamin Hart*, also contributed by Rabbi Julius J. Price (No. 23, pp. 137-140), describing the attempts of another member of the family to obtain a commission in the Canadian Militia at the beginning of the War of 1812. For the history of the growth of religious toleration in Canada these papers are not without interest.

In *Le Problème des Races au Canada*, by Monseigneur Paul Bruchési (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Series iii, Vol. ix, Sect. i, pp. 5-11), we have a discussion, from the French-Canadian point of view, of the differences between the two Canadian peoples (the French and the English). It is necessary to understand the title of

the paper in everyday language, that is the language of the newspapers, because it relates to the political questions of Canadian history, and not to racial traits of French and English as one would understand them scientifically. In the survey the author includes separate schools, language disputes and similar questions which have had a place in political discussions. The author adopts the personal way of looking at the problem, regarding, for example, as the chief builder of Confederation, Sir George E. Cartier.

M. Ernest Bilodeau in *Un Canadien errant* (Quebec: L'Action Sociale; pp. 252) includes a "Vision Métapédienne", which is a series of impressionistic pictures of Amqui, a settlement on the banks of the Matapedia river near its source in the Notre Dame Mountains. It is odd to find the author complaining of the mountains that obstruct the view and recalling with regret the beauties of his native place, Roberval, on Lake St. John, where the land is fertile and flat and the great lake stretches to the horizon, a level sheet of water.

A journey up the Natashquan river in the summer of 1912 is described by Charles W. Townsend, the well known ornithologist, under the title *A short trip into the Labrador peninsula by way of the Natashquan river* (Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia, vol. xi, pp. 170-182). A point was reached about eighty miles from the mouth, which, considering the number of falls and rapids in the lower course of the river, was good going. Many interesting scientific observations are made, not the least of which is that signs are appearing of the beginnings of a natural reforestation of the Labrador plateau. The traces of the former devastation by fires are only too numerous.

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(3) The Province of Ontario

Pioneer Life among the Loyalist Settlements of Upper Canada. By W. S. Herrington. Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1915. Pp. 107.

This type of book is needed, for the social history of Ontario is still to be written. Mr. Herrington's successive chapters deal with the building and furnishing of the log cabin, the struggle with the forest, the courts, the schools, the roads, medicine, funerals, etc. He has gleaned his information from old settlers now dead and from original manuscript papers. The thought of the primeval forest brings to us now a suggestion of delight in the shade of the great trees. Mr. Herrington describes the reality of undrained land, of unbridged streams, of swamps, and of intense labour in clearing away the trees. He describes the building of the log cabin. Oiled paper was often used to cover the tiny windows since glass was scarce. The furniture was scanty and Mr. Herrington describes how it was made. He describes too the methods of cooking, the digging of the necessary well, the making of flour from wheat and so on. The family wove its own cloth, tanned its own leather, made its own thread, hats, and other clothing.

Whiskey was cheap; sixpence would purchase a quart. Mr. Herrington thinks the evils of over-drinking were not very great, but many have written of drunkenness in the early days as a curse of appalling magnitude. As a lawyer Mr. Herrington is naturally interested in the courts. Courthouses were few and justices sometimes sat in a kitchen. Whiskey and the open vote made the elections lively. The schoolmaster was, of course, poorly paid, but he was probably a greater figure in the community then than he is now. Still Mr. Herrington thinks that we need not regret him. "Brute force played an important part in his system of instruction". The forest was always ready at hand to furnish the needed rod which should save the child from

being spoiled. Sometimes a burly youth would turn the tables on the teacher and give him a thrashing. When the teacher came out second best "his usefulness in that neighbourhood was gone!" In nearly every community there was some one called "The Squire" though he had no rank like a real squire in England, and the clergyman was likely to be the most important man in a community. For a time after the founding of Upper Canada only the Anglican clergy could solemnize marriage. The Anglicans, says Mr. Herrington, were "a pampered class" and displayed a certain arrogance of which echoes are still heard in rural Ontario. The clergyman was often literally itinerant, preaching in a dozen places in the course of a week. Mr. Herrington describes the overpowering emotionalism of the Methodist camp-meeting.

The account of the food of the time is interesting. Staples were smoked ham and salted pork. Meal made of Indian corn was widely used. Wild fruits were abundant. So also were maple sugar and a coarse unrefined product of the sugar-cane "Muscovado" sugar. The tomato was grown in gardens for ornament and little used as food. Fresh-water fish were abundant but were not much eaten. Roads were of course intolerably bad. Sometimes a careless settler would plant his cabin on the line of the road and there to this day the road still has a "jog". Epidemics were common, trained physicians few, and quacks with noxious medicines abundant. The old granny often was the physician of the family and she was wise in the use of herbs. Plain farmers set broken limbs, pulled teeth with every accompaniment of barbarity and sometimes, it may be, bled a patient. Mr. Herrington appropriately ends his little book with an account of the funeral which was likely to mark the termination of the labours of such practitioners. A wooden slab usually marked the grave and the dead were soon forgotten. We hope Mr. Herrington will continue his interesting researches.

John Lees was an English merchant who lived for about ten years at Quebec in the period between the cession of

Canada and the American Revolution. He was prominent enough to have been one of the committee of seven who drew up the petition for the repeal of the Quebec Act. In 1768 he travelled from Boston to Detroit and back to Quebec, and kept a journal of his adventures. This manuscript *Journal of J. L. of Quebec, merchant* (pp. 55), is in the British Museum where it was seen and read by Mr. Clarence S. Burton of Detroit. Mr. Burton had it copied and it was published by the Society of Colonial Wars of the State of Michigan in 1911 and should have been reviewed by us before. The adventurous journey of the old merchant was by canoe through Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. In the latter lake the party was storm-bound and ran short of provisions. At Detroit he remained about a fortnight, and then returned by bateau down the lakes and the St. Lawrence river to Montreal. He enters in his journal the names of the people he met and with whom he had business, and enters with some particularity into the circumstances of the Indians near Detroit. Incidents of the "late war" are also noted by him in connection with the forts or other landmarks he passed. His usual spelling for Lake Ontario is "Ontorio" which shows that the name was pronounced in those days with the "a" broad.

Mr. W. S. Herrington's *Some Notes on the First Legislative Assembly of Ontario and its Speaker, Hon. John Stevenson* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, vol. ix, section ii, pp. 223-246) is merely a biographical sketch of a lesser political figure. John Stevenson, the member of the first Assembly in Ontario after Confederation for the constituency of Lennox and Addington, was elected Speaker through the influence of the "Patent Combination"; he discharged his duties faithfully; and went down to defeat in 1871 with the rest of Sandfield Macdonald's party. Mr. Herrington has had access to his papers, and an excellent picture is drawn of political life at that time; but there is nothing of great importance in the article.

Mrs. Stewart Erskine has written a life of a well known writer on art under the title *Anna Jameson, Letters and Friendships 1812-1860* (London: T. Fisher Unwin; pp. 350). Mrs. Jameson was the wife of the Vice-Chancellor of Upper Canada. It is not surprising that only thirty pages of this life should be devoted to her American and Canadian experiences (1836-37), for friends were few, what society there was proved uncongenial and her domestic life was unhappy. These few papers give a vivid picture of an unwilling exile in a strange land. The six weeks voyage to America was made with society which was "worse than sea-sickness". While appreciating the kindness shown her on her journey from New York to Toronto she notes the lack of manners and of polite conversation as characteristic of the continent. When luggage fell from the roof of the coach on a night journey from Utica to Rochester and a passenger asked what was the matter, the coachman replied "Don't you stand jabbering there, you! but come and lend a hand to heave these things aboard, I can't stand here in the road all night, I guess". Mrs. Jameson expressed her astonishment at the "indescribable insolence of the driver" but her fellow travellers laughed and said they had not noticed it. Of Toronto, "that fifth-rate provincial town with aspirations to be a capital city", she writes: "The cold narrow minds, the confined ideas, the by-gone prejudices of the society are hardly conceivable, books there are none, nor music and as to pictures!—the Lord deliver us from such! The people do not know what a picture is". It is characteristic of her attitude that the governor, Sir Francis Bond Head, is described as "admirable and converses admirably", and that no general criticism is made of his foolish administration. Confinement to the house for a month by inclement weather and an attack of ague, "to which it seems the climate exposes all newcomers," did not add to her appreciation of "the great Lake Ontario" surrounded by marshes, forests and upstart towns. But the advent of spring, while it did not lessen her horror of Canadian political, social and moral conditions, brought a real appreciation of Canadian cenery. "This

beautiful Lake Ontario" she writes on May 19, 1837, "My Lake, for I begin to be in love with it and look on it as mine". It is a pity that reference to her trip among the Indians is confined to the announcement of her itinerary and of her safe return. There are no letters to supplement her published account of a really adventurous journey. The book is well printed and unobtrusively edited. It fulfils and does not exceed the expectations of its title.

The Archivist of Ontario, Dr. Alexander Fraser, has been pursuing the wise policy of printing, as the substance of his annual reports, the early Journals of the Legislature of Upper Canada. Up to the year 1821 no early printed copies are known to exist. Whether the Journals prior to that date were ever printed is not certain. Copies of the original Journals were transmitted to England, year by year. Copies of these copies were made for the Library of Parliament at Ottawa, and partial copies of these again for various libraries or governmental departments of the province. The *Tenth Report* of the Bureau of Archives for Ontario is the fourth that has been devoted to the worthy purpose of preserving and rendering accessible to historical students these invaluable records. It contains the Journals from the second session of the year 1818, to the end of 1821. The Report is for the year 1913 and was published in 1914. Mention of it was inadvertently omitted in our volume XIX, as likewise mention of the preceding Report for 1912, which contained the Journals for 1812, 1814, 1816, 1817 and the first session of 1818. The omission of Journals for 1813 and 1815 is unfortunately no oversight, but due to the disappearance of the records for these years. The Journals for the years 1812 and 1814 are full of interest in connection with the war with the United States. The more placid proceedings of later years are disturbed only by the unavailing efforts of Gourlay to shake the ascendancy of the Family Compact. Dr. Fraser should next reprint the early statutes of Upper Canada.

Mr. Justice Riddell continues his interesting researches into the records of early judicial proceedings in Upper Canada. *The Court of King's Bench in Upper Canada, 1824-27* (pp. 28) contains notes on many of the cases that came before the court, which as far as they relate to technical law or procedure are not within the scope of this REVIEW. But the paper likewise includes biographical sketches of the judges of the court, and comments on the political situation as it affected judicial appointments and even judicial decisions. Mr. Justice Willis, appointed a puisne judge in 1827, was responsible for more than one sensational scene in court. Considering himself unfairly treated by the party in power because they postponed the establishment of a Court of Chancery and thus disappointed his expectation of becoming Chancellor, Willis displayed open sympathy with the Radical opposition. He took upon himself to rebuke in court the law officers of the Crown on more than one occasion, and in the celebrated case of *Rolph* v. *Simons* he included in his judgment remarks that plainly reflected upon his brother judges and the governor himself. The conclusion of Mr. Justice Willis's career as a judge in Canada was not long delayed. He was "amoved", as the phrase is, and the country knew him no more.

In the Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology (July 1915, pp. 165-176) Mr. Justice Riddell has another valuable paper on *The Duel in Early Upper Canada*. He discusses four duels which took place in early days in Upper Canada, one between John White and John Small in 1800, one between William Weekes and William Dickson in 1806, another (and a more famous one) between Samuel Peters Jarvis and John Ridout in 1816, and a fourth between John Wilson and Robert Lyon in 1833. The account of these duels is the occasion for the display of a great deal of learning with regard to early days in Canada. The biographical sketches of the principals in these duels are especially valuable. It is interesting to note that Mr. Justice Riddell's view of the famous Gourlay case, with which in

later years William Dickson had something to do, does not follow traditional lines. "The proceedings, though frequently attacked as improper and unlawful," he says, "were in my judgment wholly regular and authorized by the statute law, however unwise they may have been and, *me judice*, were." This opinion, coming from a distinguished lawyer, is striking; and one could wish that Mr. Justice Riddell might find it possible to elaborate the thesis here laid down. The paper is copiously annotated; but unfortunately the proof-reading of the notes has been far from careful.

The address by Mr. Justice Riddell to the Michigan State Bar Association on *The first Judge at Detroit and his court* (pp. 38) is a history of the earliest administration of English law at Detroit from 1763 to 1796 when the British occupation came to an end. For fourteen or fifteen years after the former date judicial functions seem to have been exercised only by justices of the peace appointed by the British officer in command at the fort, and these justices were French-Canadians. But an extraordinary case occurred in 1776 when capital punishment was inflicted by one of these magistrates and on very doubtful evidence. Although a warrant was issued at Quebec against the offending justice, the troublous times of the American Revolution prevented the authorities from proceeding with the case. However, in consequence of the scandal, the arbitrary justices seem to have discontinued their sessions, for Mr. Justice Riddell says, "thereafter I cannot find any trace of either civil or criminal law being administered in Detroit until the year 1789". The inconvenience, and indeed the virtual impossibility, of having all civil suits originating at Detroit tried at Montreal, the nearest place where sat a court of competent jurisdiction, led to an arbitration agreement among the merchants of Detroit, which was faithfully observed in most of the cases submitted to arbitration. Detroit was one of the frontier posts held by the British after the treaty of 1783 was signed, and, in order to ensure the fulfilment of the provisions of that treaty affecting the loyalists, we find

a Governor of Canada, Lord Dorchester, including Detroit in the jurisdiction of the Court of Common Pleas which he established for the district of Hesse in 1788. William Dummer Powell was appointed the first judge of the court in 1789. A sketch of the career of this interesting man and excellent judge is then given, followed by an account of the jurisdiction and practice of the court, some details as to the first officers and practitioners, and the story of the first case. The whole paper is full of interesting details that throw light on the circumstances of the time.

Mr. Justice Riddell's address on *The legal profession in Ontario and the Law Society of Upper Canada*, delivered before the Chicago Society of Advocates (pp. 31) is characteristic of the author's uncompromising thoroughness in matters of historical research. The obligation upon would-be practitioners of a five years' period of legal training under authorized advocates or attorneys before admission to practice was imposed in Upper Canada as early as 1785. At that time French civil law was in force throughout the country, but in 1792 the first Act of the first Parliament of Upper Canada introduced English law. In 1797 the Law Society was founded and given authority by Act of Parliament to frame rules for government of the profession. The various provisions from time to time made by the Law Society affecting the admission or status of practitioners are given in detail by the author as well as statutory enactments directed to the same end. Even the curriculum of the Law School is included.

In Pastures Green. By Peter McArthur. London & Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1915. Pp. xi, 364.

Mr. McArthur has made himself widely known in Canada chiefly by contributions to the newspaper press in the character of a literary man turned farmer. This book is largely a reprint of such articles and is arranged in the form of a diary covering a single year. We have therefore the impres-

sions produced by the aspects of nature and the labours of the farm upon a sensitive mind. The scene is western Ontario, one of the finest farming regions in America. The author has a store of quaint wisdom, the faculty of apt quotation, and deep affection for nature. His notes are full of the sense of beauty and some of his verse has real vitality. He has not escaped the slang of his environment. He speaks of a "bunch of money", of "raising" instead of rearing children, and he has difficulties with the correct use of shall and will. The book, however, is full of life and is a real historical document, because in describing conditions of to-day the author always has his eye on the past.

Mr. McArthur shows indeed a filial devotion to the early pioneers. What they struggled for, he says, was homes. "They knew, as those before them knew, what it meant to be tenants—subject to the whims and opposition of landlords or their agents: they wanted homes that would be their own, and that would be inherited by their descendants" (p. 43). Money-making was a secondary consideration. They wanted new homes, but they could never forget the land which they had left. Mr. McArthur feels with them the sense of heartbreaking isolation and homesickness in the rough wilderness. Often food was so scarce that they had to dig up the potatoes which had been planted. Wheaten bread was a luxury. In the spring (in the absence of proper drainage) all but the high land was likely to be flooded, and this made the trails almost impassable.

> "A pretty custom of those days was to have a pole wherever the trail crossed a creek or water-hole. The foot passenger was supposed to take this and vault over the water. No wonder vaulting with a pole used to be one of the popular sports on the Queen's Birthday and at the Fall Fair" (p. 60).

Large streams were often crossed on floating logs. The making of maple sugar was an occasion for an annual festival, but now, because of the value of wood, it hardly pays (in the older parts of the country) to keep up the fires for boiling the sap.

Mr. McArthur has gathered some of the weather-wise sayings of his district. One of them is not very illuminating: "All signs fail in dry weather". He notes that pigs were of

great service in killing snakes. Many of the settlers loved a law suit, and there was a saying that they saved money all summer in order to spend it on the luxury of a law suit lasting all winter! Mr. McArthur describes the physical strength of some of these pioneers, and they certainly performed amazing feats. Nor were they a short-lived race; hard work indeed rather tends to lengthen than to shorten life.

The skunk, the weasel and the mink have not, like the deer, been driven away by the progress of civilization, and Mr. McArthur makes the bold statement that the quantity of fur secured in southern Ontario is as great as ever. Many old customs have died out. A wide-spread use of labour-saving machinery has matured, and has resulted in keener intellects and weaker arms among the farmers. The older Ontario Mr. McArthur calls the "Land of Good Neighbours", and he illustrates the neighbourliness by an account of the bee for raising a barn (p. 202). It is an aspect of social life that is disappearing, and Mr. McArthur's paragraphs will help to preserve it from being forgotten. The former fiddler who furnished the music at rural festivities has given way to the gramophone or some other mechanical mode of producing music. The farmers go into the towns and villages for their recreation. They still live too much in the kitchen, leaving the other parts of the house unoccupied, and a drive along any rural road at night is a dismal excursion because the fronts of most of the houses are in darkness. This also, however, is changing, and the farmers are really learning how to live. If there is hired help, work stops at a fixed hour and does not go on into the darkness. The superstition for the one hundred acre farm is passing away, and farms of twenty-five acres have been found to be profitable. This has had the unexpected effect of improving the highways, since the smaller frontage has reduced the cost to the individual farmer, but much remains to be done in this way. The old "snake" fence has given place to the wire fence. Prosperity has brought social cleavage. Neighbourliness is not as much in evidence as it was in former times. Mr. McArthur closes with the radical suggestion that if compulsory military

service is a good thing, so also would be compulsory agricultural service. He thinks that if every young man was required to serve for three years on a farm it might prove the making of the nation. His book is itself an evidence of a new interest in the beauty of life in the country. But the author is emphatic in insisting that farming means hard work and he is not convinced that the dweller in cities will really take kindly to the life of the farm.

Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records. Vol. xiii. Toronto, 1915. Pp. 115.

Annual Report of the Ontario Historical Society, 1915. Toronto, 1915. Pp. 99.

The Ontario Historical Society has published the thirteenth volume of its *Papers and Records.* As usual the volume is full of excellent papers. The late Matthew Teefy, once postmaster at Richmond Hill, is the author of a collection of notes entitled *Annals of an Old Post Office on Yonge Street* (*Richmond Hill*). These notes are in the nature of reminiscences, but are of so fragmentary a character that little is to be derived from them. Lt.-Col. E. A. Cruikshank prints, with an introductory note, *Some Unpublished Letters from General Brock.* These letters range in date from 1803 to 1807, and deal with the earlier years of Brock's life in Canada; their interest is mainly biographical and military. A pleasant, gossippy paper is contributed by Miss Janet Carnochan on *Some Mistakes in History.* Some common errors in popular Canadian history are here corrected. Dr. Benjamin Sulte discusses, in a short paper entitled *The Valley of the Ottawa in 1613*, Champlain's exploration of the Ottawa valley on his first abortive trip in 1613; and Mr. T. W. Edwin Sowter contributes, under the title *The Highway of the Ottawa*, a sort of topographical history of the Ottawa river. Both these papers are based on careful research; and the second especially is valuable for the archaeological history of Canada, giving as it does an account of the principal camp-sites and burial-places of the Indians

along the Ottawa. A paper of more recent interest is Miss Amey Horsey's *Gleanings from Ottawa Scrap-Books.* This is based on some scrap-books which the Ottawa Women's Historical Society began to keep in 1900, and is an excellent illustration of how scrap-books may be used in the constructive work of local history. Miss Edith L. Marsh writes in a somewhat uncritical manner on *The County History as a Factor in Social Progress.* Mr. E. H. Scammell's *The Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817* is a scholarly discussion of the relations of Canada and the United States as regards the maintenance of armed vessels on the Great Lakes. An interesting feature of the paper is the charge which Mr. Scammell brings against the United States that they have not observed the agreement to the letter. A paper based on some original documents from a private source is the Rev. A. B. Sherk's *Early Militia Matters in Upper Canada, 1808-1842.* For the history of the Canadian Militia the paper contains much useful material, some of which reads strangely to-day. In 1822, for instance, it appears that the Lincoln militia were called out for training only one day a year. The last and longest contribution in the volume is Professor Cephas D. Allin's *The British North American League, 1849.* The aim of this monograph is to supplement those chapters in the author's *Annexation, Preferential Trade and Reciprocity* which trace the development of the British North American League, an organization formed in 1849 to combat the annexation movement. Professor Allin's treatment of his subject is most exhaustive, and most valuable. He comes to the conclusion that in the League is to be found the genesis of the Liberal-Conservative party. On the whole, the volume does credit to the Society.

The *Annual Report* of the Ontario Historical Society for 1915 contains little in the nature of historical papers. The President, Mr. Clarance M. Warner, presents his annual address, which is entitled *The Growth of Canadian National Feeling.* The address is interesting, but contains nothing in the way of original research into historical materials. The Committee on Historic Sites and Monuments presents

its report, which contains a valuable account of what has been done in commemorating events in Canadian history, an obituary of prominent Canadians who died during 1914 and 1915, and a summary of Canadian historical events during the same period. "It is hoped", says the report, "that the data here given may be found useful by future generations when studying Canadian history"; and it must be confessed that the report contains a great deal of miscellaneous information. Accounts are presented also of the commemoration of the centenary of the battle of Lundy's Lane and of the battle of Beaver Dams.

The Essex Historical Society has published a second volume of *Papers and Addresses* (Windsor; pp. 105). Most of the papers date back to 1907 and 1908. The first is a paper on "The Battle of Windsor", prepared by Mr. Francis Cleary, composed of accounts of the battle collected from various sources. Two are extracts from narratives by eye-witnesses, printed in the *Detroit Free Press* of 1884, which are well preserved from oblivion; two are accounts printed in old books; and the last is based on tradition. A paper by Mr. Cleary on the "History of Fort Malden or Amherstburg", which originally appeared in vol. ix of the Ontario Historical Society's Papers and Records, was reviewed by us in Vol. XV of this REVIEW. The rest of the volume is occupied with essays in local history. Mr. Cleary writes on the "History of the Town of Sandwich"; the Rev. J. J. M. Aboulin contributes some "Notes on the Parish of the Assumption, Sandwich"; and an article by the late General F. Palmer of Detroit on "Early Days along the Border" is reprinted.

The second volume of the *Papers and Records* of the Huron Institute (Collingwood, 1914; pp. 130, 40) is composed of two distinct parts. The first is a series of biographical sketches, illustrated by portraits, of a considerable number of the "old boys" of the town of Collingwood. The sketches are very brief, and their interest is chiefly

local. The second part of the volume is given up to papers relating to the settlement of Collingwood and the district about it. Mr. F. T. Hodgson contributes an interesting and valuable paper, based on memory, entitled *Reminiscences, 1848-1857*. Mr. John Nettleton follows with a paper of *Reminiscences, 1857-1870*; and Mr. David Williams contributes a variety of notes under the heading, *Some Pages from Collingwood's Story*.

The sixth volume of the *Papers and Records* of the Lennox and Addington Historical Society (Napanee; pp. 55) is composed of two papers by Mr. W. S. Herrington. The first, "Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinté", is an admirable account of the social history of the United Empire Loyalists. The sketch is without foot-notes or references or authorities; but it is based on a long and thorough study of the subject with which it deals. It is accompanied by a number of excellent photographs illustrating the text; and it is written in a style interesting and vivid. The second paper, "The Court of Requests", is of a more technical character. The Court of Requests was a local court established in the early days of Upper Canada for the recovery of small debts; and the paper is based on the records of the Court of Requests at Bath, Upper Canada, from 1819 to 1826. Mr. Herrington prints many of the entries *literatim et verbatim;* and they will be found full of interesting and curious information. Appended to the paper are some notes on the persons mentioned in the text. One of these notes contains a hitherto unpublished letter of some historical importance written by Marshall Spring Bidwell immediately after his departure from Upper Canada in 1837. The volume is furnished with an index; and is printed in the unexceptionable style which we have come to expect in the publications of the Lennox and Addington Historical Society.

The London and Middlesex Historical Society is to be congratulated on the sixth volume of its *Transactions* (pp. 89). The whole volume is given up to the publication of the

letters and diary of the Rev. William Proudfoot, a Presbyterian minister who came out to Upper Canada in 1832, and who became the pastor of a church in London, Ontario. Before he was settled in London, however, Mr. Proudfoot made an extensive tour of the province; and his diary is full of interesting and valuable material for the historian of that time. The chief interest of the diarist is, of course, in things religious; but he has a keen eye, and his observations on Canadian society and Canadian politics are very acute. His verdict on William Lyon Mackenzie, for instance, could hardly be improved upon. "From what I can learn, Mr. McKenzie is a man of first-rate talent as a debater. . . . He is popular and deserves to be so. He is, however, imprudent in his severity to his opponents, and does ill to his good cause by creating personal enemies in those to whom he should only be opposed on public grounds". On the whole, however, it is astonishing how little the diary contains with regard to the political struggle. The notes on topography and social history are fuller and more valuable.

The twenty-seventh publication of the Niagara Historical Society contains two papers. The first, by Miss Janet Carnochan, entitled *Names Only But Much More*, is a collection of nominal lists illustrating the history of Niagara. These date from 1782 to 1865. They are of a great variety, census rolls, muster rolls of the militia, lists of subscribers, petitions, proceedings of agricultural and debating societies, etc. "It may be thought that such lists as follow", says Miss Carnochan, "can furnish only very dry reading, but it will be found that knowledge is thus gained to be obtained in no other way". It could be wished that similar lists might find the light in other districts. The second paper, *Number One Company, Niagara*, by Mrs. E. Ascher, is an account of the part played by the Niagara Volunteers in repelling the Fenian raid. The account appears to be largely based on the testimony of veterans; at any rate no documentary evidence is adduced. There is, however, much in the article which has never before appeared in print; and it

is not without value both for the local history of Niagara and for the history of the Fenian raid. The article is illustrated by some old photographs.

The Thunder Bay Historical Society has published its fifth *Annual Report*. This includes the papers read at the meetings of the Society during 1914, all are of a strictly local nature. Miss Belle Dobie, under the heading "Pioneer Women of Port Arthur and District", contributes a number of brief biographies of the mothers of the Thunder Bay settlement. Mr. Peter McKellar writes on "The Thunder Bay Harbour", with especial reference to recent developments. A sketch of Journalism in Port Arthur is contributed by Mr. D. Smith, entitled "The Newspaper". Lastly, Dr. E. B. Oliver outlines the history of the "Department of Health" of Fort William. The *Report* is illustrated by photographs of the contributors.

The sixth volume of the *Papers and Records* of the Wentworth Historical Society (Hamilton; pp. 84) is mainly occupied with the Indians of Wentworth County. The archaeological papers are noticed later in this volume. Mr. John H. Land has an admirable paper, somewhat vaguely entitled "Echoes from 1837-38", which is based on the guard reports of the force stationed in Hamilton during the 1837 disturbances. Two other papers by Mr. Land, one entitled "Tales of the Lines", and the other "Tales of the War—Queenston Heights", deal with the War of 1812; they are based on local and family tradition, and just what reliance should be placed on them is uncertain. The volume concludes with a brief historical sketch of "The City of Hamilton" by Mr. Joseph H. Smith.

The Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto publishes an interesting item in its *Transaction No. 14*. This is entitled "A Political Squib" and consists of a poem in thirty stanzas on the election of 1844, when the Conservative party obtained a majority of three. The poem is written

by a jubilant conservative and is full of allusions to the politicians of the day. It is not stated where the poem was obtained nor whether it originally appeared as a broadsheet or in a newspaper or, indeed, whether it has ever been in print at all until now. Another item is an old letter dated 1816, written from St. John, New Brunswick, full of information on the fashions in dress and furniture of the period, but not especially significant to the student of Canadian history. A brief notice of Miss M. Agnes FitzGibbon, whose lamented death occurred in May, 1915, completes the number. Miss FitzGibbon was always active in stimulating an interest in Canadian history, and had written a life of her grandfather, Col. James FitzGibbon, under the title "A Veteran of 1812".

(4) The Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta

Le Règne de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, 1821-1869. Par l'Hon. L. A. Prud'homme. (Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., ser. iii, vol. viii, sect. 1, pp. 137-176.)

It can scarcely be said that the contents of this interesting outline are very succinctly indicated by the title. There is little attempt to trace the fortunes of all the elements which formed the Red River Settlement, and still less the activities of the Company as a whole. The paper is largely confined to the interests of the French population of the District of Assiniboia from the coalition of the rival companies in 1821 to the transfer to Canada in 1870. "Dieu . . . amène l'union des traiteurs, pour faciliter les voies à ses apôtres". It will not be contended, moreover, that the author aspires to impartiality; in fact the paper, as indicated indeed by the forty-eight headings of topics discussed, may not unjustly be described as a succession of incidents bearing upon the development of the French race and the Roman Catholic Church. The topics are frequently a little discursive, and not infrequently the discussion is very fragmentary; but, within the range of the interests indicated above, there is a remarkable amount of fugitive information. The tribute to the métis (p. 143), for instance, is just and well within the mark: "Honnêtes, hospitaliers, généreux, partageant volontiers leur dernier morceau de pain avec les hôtes qui venaient s'asseoir à leurs foyers, les anciens du pays ont rendu des services signalés à l'Église".

The topics include such subjects as "Nos premières paroisses et l'ancienne population du pays" (an outline of the métis, "le noyau principal de la population catholique de l'ouest"), "Premiers colons" (not the Selkirk settlers but the French settlers at St. Boniface and the parish of St. François-Xavier), "Incendie de la Cathédrale et de l'Evêché de St. Boniface", "Notes sur les Gouverneurs Dallas et McTavish", several interesting topics under the general

heading "Les Militaires à la Rivière Rouge", "Lois de Manitoba", "Industrie à la Rivière Rouge" (containing brief notes of the Buffalo Wool Company, experimental farms, mills, etc.) and finally several very useful pages on "Les anciennes routes de l'Ouest".

No attempt is made to vindicate the traditional French views throughout this period, because these views are everywhere taken by the author for granted. In fact in many instances they are stated in a form so unqualified as to be quite misleading. On page 153 we read: "On ne sera pas surpris si en 1869, lorsque le gouverneur de la Baie d'Hudson eut abdiqué, les métis abandonnés à leur seule force prirent leur cause en mains". The phrase "abandonnés à leur seule force" as it stands amounts simply to a perversion of fact. The circumstances are stated by Governor McTavish himself in his official proclamation of November 16, 1869; the métis had seized Fort Garry "in the face of repeated remonstrances" and had "avowed it as their intention in all these unlawful proceedings to resist arrangements . . . made under the sanction of the Imperial Parliament . . . virtually setting at defiance the royal authority". One may say this without detracting in the least from the legitimate grievances of the French party at the time of the transfer. Similarly the traditional French view that this western country must be regarded as French until 1763 is stated (p. 162) without reservation. In the cession of Hudson's Bay territories to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713—at a time when Canada was still French—these districts are known to have been included in the British claims; and although the commissioners provided for in the treaty never determined the boundary between Hudson's Bay territories and Canada, it may surely be held that the British contention has prevailed in view of the fact that even Canada became British in 1763. In fact the Quebec Act itself in 1774 defines the western boundary of Canada by a line down the Ohio "to the Banks of the *Mississippi*, and Northward to the Southern Boundary of the territory granted to the Merchant Adventurers of *England* trading into *Hudson's Bay*".

It must be admitted however that the errors in Judge Prud'homme's interesting paper are not all due to the unqualified acceptance of the conventional French point of view. An exacting critic could fill several pages with the inaccuracies in statement and mistakes in point of fact. The Council of 1835 was by no means the first in Assiniboia (p. 139) though practically no minutes survive of earlier councils ordered by Selkirk himself and known to have met at various times from 1815. "Le territoire d'Assiniboia" in 1835 (p. 139) was defined in 1839 as "coextensive with such portion of the territory granted to the late Thomas Earl of Selkirk . . . as is now within the Dominions of Her Britannic Majesty". It was the Municipal District of Assiniboia which "extended in all directions fifty miles from the forks of the Red River and the Assiniboine", but even that regulation was made not in 1835 but in June, 1841. The usual mistake of regarding Colonel Crofton as Governor of Assiniboia (p. 141) is repeated. No evidence is given for the statement (p. 141) that the Council of the Northern Department met twice in 1836. Only one meeting seems to be recorded in the regular minutes of that year; another document, though signed by all the members of the Council who sign the minutes, is only a copy of *Standing Rules and Regulations*, and is found to bear a date, June 23, when the Council was actually in session. Judge Prud'homme states (p. 145) that, after the flood of 1826, 253 persons left the settlement for the United States. "Le plus grand nombre de ces émigrants étaient Ecossais". Governor Donald McKenzie at the Settlement states in his report to Colvile, August, 1826, that 50 Swiss and "Meurons" went to the United States, and 25 Canadian families to Canada—180 altogether. It is stated (p. 146) that the construction of Fort Garry "fut terminé en 1834"; it was resolved in the Council of the Northern Department as late as June, 1836, "that tradesmen and labourers be employed in erecting and completing the necessary building of the New Establishment of Fort Garry; and that a sufficient quantity of stone be quarried and hauled in the Winter for the Bastions and surrounding

Walls". There is evidence that "un peu de sans-gêne" is a very mild statement of Laroque's offence in the Simpson incident (p. 146), and that Sayer was not summarily acquitted because "l'heure expirée, Riel déclara la cause terminée". The part played by Inspector Macdonell of the Mounted Police, and by others, in the return of the Sioux to the United States is altogether overlooked on page 154. On page 159 five mistakes are made in less than four lines. The expedition against the North-westers at Red River in the winter of 1816-7 was under Miles Macdonell, and not Orsonnens, though the latter was one of the party; it proceeded not by way of Duluth but from Rainy Lake; it set out not in February, 1817, but on December 10, 1816; the fort taken was not Fort Gibraltar (which as a matter of fact had been destroyed by Semple during the preceding June) but Fort Douglas; and finally the fort was taken, not, as Judge Prud'homme states, "pendant une tempête de neige", but as Macdonell reported to Selkirk (*Selkirk Papers*, 3240) on a night "fine with moonlight". It is stated (p. 161) that Crofton's expedition reached Red River on August 7, 1846; as a matter of fact it is seen from the *Report of the Select Committee*, 1857, page 169, that August 7 was the date of their arrival at York Factory on Hudson Bay.

CHESTER MARTIN

The Red River Colony. By Louis Aubrey Wood. (The Chronicles of Canada.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Co., 1915. Pp. viii, 152.

The story of the Red River Colony—or the Red River Settlement as it was almost uniformly called—is full of controversies. Mr. Wood's object, one infers, was not so much to terminate these by getting at the truth as to give, in spite of them, a readable and picturesque account of a very complex subject. The result is an attractive little volume, well written, well illustrated and fairly well indexed. The story begins, as every story of the Red River Settlement must begin, with the personality of Selkirk; and the fortunes of settlement by way of Hudson Bay are evenly traced

through conflict with the North-West Company down to the coalition in 1821 and the transfer of Assiniboia from the Douglas family back to the Company in 1834. There are some mistakes. The prospectus of 1811 (p. 36), berated by Dr. Strachan, was intended not for the colonist but for the capitalist with a view to a joint stock company. There were no women (p. 39) in the first party for Red River; indeed there were no free settlers at all. The men of that year were hired servants to break the way for permanent settlers to follow. The party with Owen Keveny numbered not "seventeen Irishmen", (p. 58), but seventy-one men, women and children, many from the Hebrides. The settlement at Red River was made not "above the forks" (p. 59) but below. It might be added that the trials (p. 134) in which Selkirk was "mulcted in damages to the extent of £2000" were held after Selkirk had left Canada and with but one witness for the defence in one case and with no witnesses at all in the other. Lady Selkirk did not return to Britain with Selkirk in 1818 (p. 135) but remained in Canada till the following March. The map (p. 49) is misleading in precisely the point one would like to see emphasized. The regular route from Hudson Bay to the Settlement is quite unintelligible on account of the gap left on the map between Oxford House and Jack river. The transfer of Assiniboia back to the Company was effected not in 1836 (p. 137) but in June 1834. Many of these and similar slips do not, it should be pointed out, vitiate the author's general conclusions; the graver danger however is that with the best intentions in the world "the whole truth" is sometimes as essential as "nothing but the truth".

CHESTER MARTIN

In volume iv of the *Collections* of the State Historical Society of North Dakota (pp. 451-643) is given a *Summary of Evidence in the Controversy between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company* which is merely a reprint of Coltman's *Report* taken from *Papers Relating to the Red River Settlement, 1819*, without either introduction

or foot-note. The circumstances under which both Coltman and Fletcher were appointed commissioners, and above all the circumstances under which this report was drawn up by Coltman alone, were so exceptional that it may fairly be questioned whether the bare report does not leave an inadequate, not to say erroneous, impression of the controversy. Several very fundamental considerations—Selkirk's proprietary rights in Assiniboia for instance—were altogether excluded from the inquiry; or rather were prejudged by an assumption that has been shown to be unjust and erroneous, both then and since. Introductions are frequently perfunctory and can sometimes be dispensed with by the reader without profound regret. This is a case where a discerning introduction might save the student from a conclusion which is apt to be hasty and ill-considered.

The Hudson's Bay Company and the Red River Trade. By Hattie Listenfelt. (Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, Volume 4, pp. 235-337.)

Miss Listenfelt has condensed into less than one hundred pages of text a remarkable amount of information, taken chiefly from first-rate published documentary sources. A thorough study has been made of the British blue-books of 1842, 1849, and especially of the *Report of the Select Committee* of 1857—"still a perfect mine of information", as Miss Listenfelt writes, "on every subject connected with the Company". Curiously enough the valuable but controversial report of 1819 dealing with the quarrel between the Hudson's Bay and North-West Companies is not included in the short bibliography on pages 336-7. The first section of the outline deals with the period 1670-1821, the second with International Relations, the third with the Rise of Free Trade, the fourth with the End of Monopoly. There are fourteen appendixes (pp. 307-335) in addition to the short bibliography already mentioned.

The second and the third sections are particularly interesting because they deal with phases hitherto altogether

too lightly emphasized from the Canadian standpoint. The relationship between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Columbia and American fur companies has been largely overlooked. The rise of free trade was due directly to the outlet to the south; here particularly any evidence from American sources is of special interest.

The conclusions drawn by Miss Listenfelt are rather conventional and not always well considered, while there are not a few smaller mistakes which become unimportant only in comparison with the mass of really excellent information. Two instances may be cited. It is stated (p. 239) that "After Vérendrye's death in 1749 the enterprise of the French in the west languished and finally in 1763 the country passed from their hands altogether". Whatever the views of antiquarians and historiographers with regard to the seventeenth century, it can scarcely be accepted that the West became British territory and a part of Canada by the treaty of Paris in 1763. It is impossible to ignore the hard facts that the title to Assiniboia in fee simple was vested in the Douglas family to 1834 and in the Hudson's Bay Company till the transfer to Canada in 1870. This contention was upheld even by Edward Ellice, who stated in the *Report* of 1857 that after consulting "every lawyer against the company when I was opposed to them and for the company since I have been connected with them . . . none of these eminent lawyers, and no lawyer whose opinion I have ever heard quoted . . . have expressed the least doubt as to the proprietary rights granted under the charter." The status of Assiniboia before 1870 has been determined in the Courts of Manitoba, of Canada and before the Privy Council; and finally even the French themselves deny the Canadian claims before 1870 by supporting Riel whose insurrection in 1869 was based upon the fact that Assiniboia was not then a part of Canada.

Similarly the unfortunate proclamation issued by Macdonell in 1814 (p. 245) is said to reflect upon "the object of founding the colony" because it was "virtually a declaration of war against the North West Company". The truth is

that the proclamation of 1814 was issued in contravention of Selkirk's injunctions, and, as Macdonell himself afterwards stated, it might never have been issued or enforced at all had a private letter from Selkirk not been returned unopened through the malignity of officials at Hudson Bay. By the spring of 1815, North-West winter-partners themselves wrote that the proclamation was "entirely formed in this country. His Lordship Selkirk never gave such orders".

Minor inaccuracies are more easily overlooked, but the old mistake of regarding Colonel Crofton as Governor of the Settlement is twice repeated, and his report in 1848 is discredited (p. 294) because it had come from one of the Company's "paid officers". It is evident from the diary of Colonel Crofton himself, and from the correspondence of Governor Christie, that Crofton had neither acted as Governor nor held any commissions in a civil capacity. In his evidence, published in full in the *Report* of 1857, he states that he was "merely a soldier; I had nothing to do with the civil government".

CHESTER MARTIN

The article entitled *James W. Taylor, a Biographical Sketch*, by Theodore C. Blegen (Minnesota History Bulletin, November, 1915, pp. 153-219) is a study of a man who played some part in the history of the Canadian West. Taylor, an American from the State of New York, went early to the West and conceived the hope that the whole country would be annexed to the United States. The historian of the two Riel Rebellions must take some account of Taylor's activities. As early as in 1861 he was warning the government of the United States to take what steps it could to help the movement for annexation and later his proposals were formulated into a bill for admitting the "states" of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Canada East and so on into the Union. The Hudson's Bay Company was to be paid ten million dollars for its rights. In 1869 Taylor was the secret agent of the Washington government watching the Riel movement. Perhaps to him was due the request from the legislature of Minnesota for American intervention in the

West. He spent much time at Ottawa. A report by him (41 Congress, 2 Session, Senate Executive Documents, No. 33) "is an exceedingly valuable source of information on the Red River rebellion" (p. 194, note). So also are other official American papers cited in the study. After the establishment of the Province of Manitoba Taylor remained at Winnipeg as American consul until his death in 1893. He was much esteemed there, in spite of his views on annexation. The bibliography given here of his numerous writings has some value for the history of Manitoba. Mr. Blegen has carried through his study in a most scholarly manner.

The Canadian North-West, Its Early Development and Legislative Records. Volume II. Edited by E. H. Oliver. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915. Pp. 689-1348.

In reviewing the first volume of these documents which appeared over a year ago, it was suggested that "the second volume gives promise of being even more illuminating than the first". It may now be said that this promise has been fulfilled. Between the perplexities of a general introduction and the chaotic state of anything like "constitutional development", strictly speaking, during the earlier period, Principal Oliver's task was not an enviable one. In the second volume, however, the arrangement of the documents is naturally less complicated, and the range and variety of evidence to be pressed into service is less perplexing. It may be stated at once that with the possible exception of the *Minutes of the Council of Assiniboia*, already published, this second volume will be found infinitely more serviceable to the student, even though many of the discrepancies previously mentioned still obtain.

The documents are grouped into five divisions: A. The Royal Charter of 1670; B. The District of Assiniboia, 1811-1870; C. The Northern Department of Rupert's Land, 1830-1843; D. The Period of Transition, 1866-1870; E. The North-West Territories, 1869-1905. Volume i included A, B and C down to the Minutes of June, 1833.

The Minutes of the Northern Department cover only the period from 1830 to 1843; that is, they begin only after the coalition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-westers has been fairly well completed, and before the conflict over free trade in its acutest form had become a paramount issue. Despite these limitations in scope, these minutes, "here for the first time published", as Mr. Isaac Cowie states in a brief introduction, not only "redound to the credit of the Company's rule" but supply a mass of evidence hitherto obtainable from no other source. The personnel of that shrewd but devoted band of men who "exercised rule over a domain that for size dwarfs by comparison some of the proudest kingdoms of the earth" is only one feature of great value. A hundred interesting points can be settled by the prosaic references to topics ranging from the Russian Agreement of February 6, 1839, to "Instructions for preparing Caviare" (p. 798). There are references to the grants for schools at the Settlement, to mission work, to the building of the new Fort Garry, to the steps taken to deal with "American opposition on the Missouri", to freight rates and the produce annually obtained from the Settlement, to "a further grant of £100 . . . to the Catholic Mission of Red River Settlement in aid of the Church now [1835] being erected at that place", to "measures . . . to form an Agricultural Establishment [1836] on a large scale . . . [with a view to an export trade.]" The fact that deliberations are recorded only in the form of formal resolutions—more than a hundred of which were frequently passed at each council—makes it necessary to read much of the history between the lines.

Mr. Cowie's brief introduction is interesting; but it would seem to require more than an *obiter dictum* of Sir George Simpson in 1847 to substantiate any comprehensive "plan to the North Westers to form a settlement on the Rainy River", or to prove that any such nebulous plan "originated Selkirk's colonizing idea". Proposals to the British Government for colonization at Red River were made by Selkirk as early as 1802. To trace even the policy

after 1821 to any "old plan of the North Westers" would seem to overlook the famous reservation of the tenth for retired servants in Selkirk's grant of 1811. The uniform attitude of North-Westers to settlement would seem from an abundance of documentary evidence to have been unmistakeable, and fairly to be indicated by Simon McGillivray's blunt statement that settlement would "strike at the very existence of our Trade"; or by William McGillivray's remark that it was "in its essence . . . injurious to our trading interests".

A very serious defect would seem to be the omission of any introductory outline to "The Period of Transition". In the absence of any reference, in the general introduction, to this period—the most acutely controversial, perhaps, in western Canadian history—it was hoped that an introduction like that for section D (pp. 623-637) would be forthcoming in the second volume. The documents however begin abruptly on page 871 without any introductory note; and while they include material which does not occur in the official published papers of 1869 and 1870, it is doubtful whether this can be said to compensate for much that is left out or taken from less authoritative sources. The 'List of Rights presented to the Dominion Government', (p. 915) for instance, is taken from Begg, while Judge Black's official list is printed in the official *Recent Disturbances* (London, 1870). In fact the list upon which Father Ritchot treated with Ottawa is now known to have been not this list at all but another list containing for the first time the famous school clause. It must be said that the forces which produced the actual terms of the Manitoba Act, and indeed the inclusion of Manitoba at once as a province and not—as originally intended both at Ottawa and at Red River—as a territory, can scarcely be gauged or illustrated without the aid of several other documents of great importance.

The editor's task as far as Manitoba is concerned, comes to a close with the Manitoba Act. Section E, The North-West Territories, would seem to be the best section in the book. The introductions and biographical notes are copious,

and the documents themselves ample enough for the most exacting critic. Over 300 pages are given to this section, and 56 documents to the Attainment of the Provincial Status in the Alberta and Saskatchewan Acts. The Appendix contains fourteen documents of varying importance from the Canada Jurisdiction Act of 1803 to Bills of Exchange in 1864.

It must be added in conclusion that many very serious defects of printing and arrangement hamper the student in the use of these valuable documents. There is no index; and to complete the bewilderment of the reader, even the list of contents at the beginning is altogether without pagination, while the typography—with regard expecially to the captions of the various sections and sub-sections—is found to be so variable and erratic as to be positively misleading.

CHESTER MARTIN

The Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, 1830-1843, occupy pages 644-862 of Vol. iv, 1913, of the Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota. Mr. Isaac Cowie has written an Introduction of 5 pages. An edition has been published recently by the Dominion Archives, Ottawa, of which the first part was reviewed last year (REVIEW, Vol. XIX, p. 119), and the concluding part receives notice elsewhere in this volume (*supra* p. 118). In the Archives edition the Minutes had the advantage of an introduction by both Mr. Cowie and Principal Oliver and had prefixed extracts from a Council of 1822. In the present introduction Mr. Cowie pays a tribute to the benevolent desire of the Hudson's Bay Company to foster education and to promote agriculture. Instances can be quoted to support both claims. Thus grants were made in 1851 to the Anglicans, to the Roman Catholics and to the Presbyterians; and experimental farms were established to promote and to teach agriculture in the Red River Settlement. But one has only to read the despatch of March, 1853, from the Company, disapproving of these same grants as being a misapplication of public funds, and to read the

evidence of Sir George Simpson before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, to understand that in the main the contribution which the Company made to education and agriculture was far from substantial. The significance of these Minutes lies in the fact that they reveal the operations and organization of the fur trade after the union of the competing companies had had time to yield results in increased activities and extended operations. George Simpson had already entered upon that active management of the Company which afforded splendid scope for his great organizing talents. But the Minutes are important for still another reason. The Council, though subject to the control and superintendence of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, was the supreme governing body over an enormous stretch of country. It adapted regulations to existing conditions. It was composed of the experts and veterans of the trade, the partners in the territories. It was largely an experiment in self-government applied to a commercial enterprise. The Council of Assiniboia dealt with a growing agricultural settlement and had an increasing element of representative, though not responsible, government. The Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land was concerned with the fur trade but through the element of co-operative profit sharing and the principle of promotion it had from the beginning adopted the policy of self-government, subject of course to the jurisdiction of the London Committee and restricted in scope to the senior officers among the partners in the territories.

EDMUND H. OLIVER

Le Saskatchewan. Par Louis Gilbert. Paris: *La Canadienne*, 1914. Pp. 160. Illustrations and Maps.

This monograph gives a sufficiently comprehensive study of the physical geography, a sketch, quite inadequate and ill-proportioned, of the historical development, and a statement, laden with departmental statistics, of the economic position of the province of Saskatchewan. It makes no new contribution to our knowledge of the subject. It shows no

evidence of first-hand investigation. But it does constitute a faithful and patient compilation of data derived chiefly from the official publications of the Government of the province.

The essentially agricultural character of the province is emphasized. As the author himself acknowledges, the picture he has drawn represents but a fleeting moment in the course of its history. Unfortunately the account here given is written at a great distance from the conditions described and is based on government reports which are not infrequently antiquated even when they appear in Regina. The result can scarcely be styled a photograph of Saskatchewan as it is at present. Nevertheless, the author has rendered a conspicuous service for those for whom he has written, and it would be difficult to name as handy a compendium of useful information in the English language.

As was perhaps inevitable the mistakes which occur in the spelling of place-names are very numerous,—e.g., p. 38, "Alsak" for "Alsask", "Gull-Lak" for "Gull Lake"; p. 42 "Buleya" for "Bulyea"; p. 47, "Estherazy" for "Esterhazy"; "Stockolm" for "Stockholm"; p. 48, "Broadwiew" for "Broadview", "Rocainville" for "Rocanville"; p. 50, "Clarievale" for "Carievale"; p. 53, "Bladivorth" for "Bladworth", "Kinly" for "Kinley"; p. 56, "Elfross" for "Elfros", "Wynard" for "Wynyard"; p. 59, "Kanisack" for "Kamsack"; p. 90, "Medecine Hat" for "Medicine Hat", etc. There are a considerable number of other errors of more or less importance. The explorer's name (p. 83) was La Vérendrye. Prince Rupert was not a brother of Charles II (p. 85). The first North West Council met at Fort Garry on October 22, 1870, under Adams G. Archibald, and not in 1873 (p. 90). Although the Council of the earlier date was irregularly appointed, its authority was felt and recognized on the Saskatchewan. Moreover the first North West Council that existed for the North West Territories, as distinct from the province of Manitoba, had as members the Hon. David Laird, as Lieutenant Governor, not William Laird as Governor (p. 90), two stipendiary magistrates and

the Commissioner of the N.W.M. Police. Amédée E. Forget was Clerk of the Council, not Lieutenant Governor (p. 90). It is true that explorers and traders from French Canada were on the Red and Saskatchewan rivers before the fall of Quebec, but that is scarcely sufficient ground for the very definite statement (p. 86) that these rivers had always been recognized as "dependencies of New France". The story of the struggle for self-government, the most important episode in the history of the territories, is dismissed in a couple of lines. That the volume is a contribution either to the geographical, historical or economic literature on Saskatchewan cannot be claimed. Its value consists in its attempt to gather and interpret for French readers a mass of data for them not otherwise available.

EDMUND H. OLIVER

Forty Years in Canada. By Colonel S. B. Steele, C.B., M.V.O. London: Herbert Jenkins, Ltd., 1915. Pp. xviii, 428.

A remarkable reception for *Forty Years in Canada* was assured by the appreciation, throughout western Canada especially, for the forty years of service which the book of Colonel, now Major General, Steele epitomizes. The contribution which it makes to history is largely direct and original because so much of it is strictly first-hand; and it gains distinctly in historical value from the modest but direct soldierly way in which the story is told. It is a plain unvarnished tale of remarkable interest without either arid narrative or purple patches, but with an unfailing sense of humour which one can believe contributed in no small degree to the prevailing spirit of those days. This quality alone will ensure the book a wide reading. If the book is read as thoughtfully, its influence will be greater than appears on the surface, for already in the West a generation has arisen that knows not the work of the pioneer.

General Steele's early aptitudes were what might have been expected from the traditions of his family. His great-uncle, Colonel Samuel Steele, had served under Wolfe at

Quebec. Five of his uncles were in the army or the navy during the Napoleonic wars. His father, a retired Captain in the Navy who had been on the *Leopard* in the famous encounter with the *Chesapeake*, settled in Simcoe County, Ontario, in 1832. General Steele's military life began at sixteen years of age. He saw active service at twenty in Wolseley's expedition in 1870 in connection with the Riel insurrection at Red River. Since that time he has taken part, in western Canada, in a transformation which can be equalled perhaps only by the phenomenal movement of a similar nature in the United States. To the North West Mounted Police the heroic and the "seamy" side alike of pioneer settlement must have been known as to no other set of officials in the country. It is a startling fact that the experiences of one man who is in active military service in the present war, should have covered the whole range of western development from the day of the Indian treaty and the whiskey runner to that of the Pullman car and the steam plough. Life at Edmonton and at Fort McLeod; Jerry Potts and Gabriel Dumont; the buffalo hunt and the routine of the Mounted Police; the Sioux and the Assiniboines; the great boom and the C.P.R.; British Columbia in the early eighties, the Riel Rebellion, the Kootenay and the Yukon; the Diamond Jubilee and the South African War; these are a few out of scores of personal experiences and reminiscences of one lifetime.

Concerning this remarkable range of development in the west, General Steele's account is informative at almost every stage. The information, as the title suggests, is usually in the form of reminiscence; and reminiscence, unlike an ordered attempt to interpret history, gains by accentuating rather than by subordinating the personal standpoint. In more than one instance General Steele frankly runs counter to widely accepted opinions, because by virtue of first-hand knowledge he considers himself in a position to right a vested wrong. Such may be considered his tribute to Major General Strange (p. 231) in the Riel Rebellion of 1885; the detailed and valuable account of the affairs at Loon

Lake (p. 227); the account of Inspector Macdonell's services in the treatment of the Sioux (p. 160); and the vindication of the troops in the affair which led to the unfortunate death of M. Goulet. In such cases, the truth, as General Steele saw it, is stated in a way which is frank and soldierly to the point of ingenuousness. In fact the book is remarkable for its freedom from controversy. More typical in that sense than the pursuit of Big Bear is the story of the Mounted Police in 1874-5, covering 1959 miles, "the longest on record for a force carrying its supplies", with the temperature ranging from "95 to 100 degrees in the shade" to "20 to 30 degrees below zero".

Even when the author touches facts already known, he adds a vividness and picturesqueness that will be coin of the realm in western history for many a day. General Steele tells a story inimitably; and if it is objected that some of those for which he does not personally stand sponsor are almost too good to be true, it may be urged that they are certainly too good to lose. A score of these will become classics.

In the next edition several mistakes may easily be corrected and it is to be hoped that space may be found for another chapter or two. It would seem from Mr. Cowie's *Company of Adventurers* that there is another side to the story of the Cypress Hills Massacre (p. 55). Riel and his party (p. 7) took possession of Fort Garry not on November 24 but on November 2. In connection with Mr. McDougall's policy (p. 8) and subsequent return to Canada, it might be added that the Canadian Government had disavowed the transfer and that Mr. McDougall's proclamations were mistaken not because they failed but because they were altogether unwarranted from Ottawa. These events however, it should perhaps be added, are not within the range of General Steele's personal "reminiscences" but are mentioned with enforced brevity by way of explanation.

There are seventeen illustrations, an excellent table of contents and a good index.

CHESTER MARTIN

(5) The Province of British Columbia and the Yukon Territory

Pioneers of the Pacific Coast. A chronicle of sea rovers and fur hunters. By Agnes C. Laut. (The Chronicles of Canada.) Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1915. Pp. 139.

This is a book extremely difficult to appraise. It purports to give a short account of the voyages of Drake, Bering, Cook, Vancouver, Gray, Mackenzie, Fraser, and Thompson. No pretence of original investigation is made; and it contains nothing new except errors. The style is attractive, but the author never hesitates to sacrifice facts to effective phrases. A vivid imagination supplies the place of historical accuracy; a good example is to be found on page 63 in what passes for the Spaniard Elisa's description of the mouth of the Fraser river. Even the supposed quotations are freely transcribed and altered: compare Mackenzie's well known inscription as given in his own *Voyages* (p. 349) with the form in which it appears on page 84; and the alleged extracts from Fraser's journal on pages 91, 93, and 94, with the journal itself, printed in *Les Bourgeois* (vol. I, pp. 163-4, 168, and 170). The author seems to be ignorant of the geography of British Columbia: imagine a person at Nootka Sound being able to see over the mountains of Vancouver Island the peak of Mount Baker a hundred and fifty miles distant! (p. 47). Bad River does not enter the Fraser thirty-five miles from the Nechaco nor is the Nechaco the same as the North Fork of the Fraser, as stated on page 81; indeed the Bad River flows into the North Fork.

There are other errors that might have been avoided. Many are slight and unimportant and it would be tiresome to enumerate them, but a few of the less excusable may be mentioned. The letters carried by the *Columbia* and referred to on page 55 were not presented to the viceroy of Mexico at San Blas, as there stated,—indeed the *Columbia* did not, so far as is known, call there—but to the commandant at

Juan Fernandez. When Vancouver met Gray off the Strait of Juan de Fuca on April 29, 1792, Gray could not have produced "the details—land marks, soundings, anchorages for twenty miles up the Columbia from its mouth" (p. 67), inasmuch as he did not discover it until May 11, 1792. Seeing that Alexander Mackenzie left Canada for England late in 1791, and the Nootka Convention had been signed in October 1790 and Vancouver, having received his instructions of March 8, 1791, had sailed from Falmouth in April 1791, it is not correct to say that on his arrival Mackenzie found "everything in a ferment over the voyages of Cook and Hanna and Meares, over the seizure of British trading-ships by the viceroy of Mexico, over the Admiralty's plans to send Vancouver out to complete Cook's exploration" (p. 73). Elisa never saw the Fraser river; he merely surmised its existence. Had he seen it, he never could have said that it had "wonderful purple water": it is more tawny than Tiber itself. Meares's "palisaded fort" at Nootka (p. 57); the fog which covered the Fraser river when Vancouver passed its mouth (p. 67)—which he did on three occasions; the voyage of McDougall during the winter of 1806 from Fort McLeod to Stuart River, following Mackenzie's track (p. 87); the naming of Fort St. James by Fraser and Stuart (p. 89)—not one of these is an historic fact; they are simply the product of an over-active imagination. It may sound well, but it is nevertheless inaccurate, to speak of Galiano and Valdes, afterwards so famous in the battle of Trafalgar, as "poor Spanish pilots", or as "poor Mexican peons" (p. 65). We are unable to identify the person referred to on page 103 as "Joseph Howse *of the North-West Company*". On page 108 the reader is informed that the overland Astorians had preceded David Thompson down the Columbia river; four pages later he is, correctly, stated to have preceded them. The author has a tendency to over-work some words: for example "coastal", and "tarn". All the interior lakes are called "tarns"; but surely this name should not be applied to Stuart Lake, a body of water fifty or sixty miles long and four or five miles broad!

The book contains ten beautiful and well selected illustrations; the typographical work is excellent; and there is a good topical index.

F. W. HOWAY

In 1907 Professor E. S. Meany issued his *Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound* (New York: Macmillan; pp. xvii, 344), of which a reprint has just appeared. The first sixty pages contain an historical sketch of Nootka and the vicinity; the remainder is a reproduction of Vancouver's narrative of his circumnavigation of Vancouver Island, beginning on April 27, 1792, when the *Discovery* and the *Chatham* were off the mouth of the Columbia river and ending with their departure from Nootka in the following October. Appended thereto, in the form of foot-notes, is a large amount of information, principally biographical, relating to the various persons whose names were bestowed upon the region by Vancouver with such lavish hand. The present volume is an exact reproduction of the 1907 issue; the only change is in the year of publication. It is not a new edition; no attempt has been made to correct the errors, or to bring the introduction into accord with facts recently brought to light. Since the first appearance of the book, the story of the circumnavigation of Vancouver Island by the *Washington* has been satisfactorily shown to be an invention of Meares, yet it stands unchanged; so too, on page 34 appears the hoary fiction, now exploded, of Gray's purchase of two hundred sea-otter skins, at the Queen Charlotte Islands, for "one old iron chisel". People who purchase an historical work, like this, bearing the date of 1915 are certainly entitled to demand that it show the existing state of knowledge—not that of eight years ago.

The remainder of the *New Vancouver Journal* appeared in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* for January 1915 (pp. 50-68). The portion published in 1914 ended with September 15, 1792. The final instalment carries the story down to the departure of Captain Vancouver from Nootka

Sound in October 1792. It deals with the difficulties between Vancouver and Quadra regarding the re-possession of the Sound, the daily occurrences there, the movements of the various vessels on the coast, and it sets out *verbatim* Duffin's letter in reference to Meares's purchase of land at Nootka, of which Vancouver gives only a synopsis. But in reality this adds but little to Vancouver's account. A close comparison of the journal with Vancouver's *Voyage* discloses a strange discrepancy as to dates—rarely do the two versions agree exactly. As usual with all early voyagers the journal ends with a description of the manners and customs of the natives. Though this completes the publication it is not the entire journal; in the interest of the history of the Pacific coast it is hoped that the complete journal may yet be published. The author is unknown, yet from internal evidence it may safely be concluded that the journal was the work of Mr. Bell, the clerk of the *Chatham*. For convenience of reference the portion of the journal which has appeared has been issued as a reprint from the *Quarterly*. The April issue of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* (pp. 83-90) contains an article *Some remarks upon the New Vancouver Journal* by Judge Howay giving some further notes upon the journal and a number of cross-references to Vancouver's *Voyage* and earlier works for comparison.

Mr. T. C. Elliott's excellent paper on the early *Fur-trade in the Columbia River basin* (*Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. vi, pp. 3-10, and Oregon Historical Society's *Quarterly*, vol. xv, pp. 241-51) was delivered at the meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association at Seattle in May 1914. Its purpose is "to designate *ad seriatim* the trading posts that had been built and were in use west of the Rocky Mountains prior to the founding of Astoria and to briefly sketch the beginnings of the fur trade on the waters of the mighty Columbia river". It is therefore a connected story of the movements of David Thompson and his subordinates Finan McDonald and James McMillan on the head-waters of the Columbia river and

on its tributaries from 1807 to 1811. It contains nothing new, but it is useful in that it expresses those journeyings in terms of modern geography, and impresses upon the general reader the importance of Thompson's work, so long neglected. Mr. Elliott settles a point which has been much debated: by whom Spokane House was built. It was established by Jacques Raphael Finlay (otherwise, Jaco Finlay) in 1810. Short references are made to the Winships' enterprise at Oak point, to Andrew Henry's trading on the Snake river in 1810-11, and to Joseph Howse's *sortie* across the Rockies in 1810. In spite of Miss Laut's bald statement that "Howse did as great service as an explorer as Thompson" (*Conquest of the Great West*, ii, 110) it would be difficult to say just what "great service" Howse performed, and Mr. Elliott's patient investigations have not added anything to our limited and scanty knowledge of this man and his movements.

The opening of the Dalles-Celilo canal in May, 1915, rendered the Columbia river navigable from its mouth to Lewiston, Idaho. The occasion was marked by addresses in which the history of the river was reviewed and its importance estimated. The June number of the Oregon Historical Society's *Quarterly* is devoted entirely to their reproduction. Canadians are interested in this event, as the Columbia river for one half its length flows through the province of British Columbia. The chief historical address, *The Dalles-Celilo Portage*, by Mr. T. C. Elliott, dealt at length with the importance of the Dalles obstruction and the influence which the portage at that spot had upon the history of the surrounding country. Beginning with Lewis and Clark, he called the roll of famous travellers who, perforce, braved its difficulties, and made brief references to the salient points in their experiences with the "chivalry of Wishram". Some doubtful French derivations and a tendency to split infinitives are trifling blots on a paper historically complete and accurate. Professor Henry L. Talkington's *Story of the River* touches the early travellers

and traders, the early ships and steamers, and the early conditions of transport on and along the river. The claim that the Lewis and Clark expedition was the most hazardous journey ever made on the American continent and one that rivalled in daring and excelled in importance the expeditions of Stanley and Livingstone, though quoted from some unnamed source, will scarcely meet with the approval of any competent student of western history. The categorical statement that by international law—is there now such a thing?—"the nation which discovered the mouth of a river, thereby came into possession of all the country drained by it and its tributaries" manifestly requires revision—perhaps, excision. The remaining addresses are without historical interest. Six fine illustrations of the Dalles and Celilo Falls afford the reader a vivid picture of parts of this nine-mile stretch of rapid water.

Journal Kept by David Douglas during his Travels in North America 1823-1827. Together with a particular description of thirty three species of American oaks and eighteen species of Pinus. With appendices containing a list of the plants introduced by Douglas and an account of his death in 1834. Published under the direction of the Royal Horticultural Society. London: William Wesley and Son, 1914. Pp. 364.

In 1825 there went to the unknown north-west coast of America a man who was a real enigma to the natives; peltry, which other men esteemed, he contemned; birds and plants alone interested him. To this strange man—David Douglas—by the Indians called "the Grass Man", we owe the name of that forest giant, the Douglas fir. Soon after his death the journal of his wanderings appeared in Hooker's *Companion to the Botanical Magazine.* This was reproduced by the Oregon Historical Society in volumes five and six of their *Quarterly.*

The Journals now published, so far as they relate to the Pacific coast consist of (*a*) an account of Douglas's

movements during 1824-1827 condensed into twenty-five pages, and (*b*) a detailed diary of the same period covering two hundred and twenty pages. The journal published by Hooker differs from both of these. A comparison of the three versions is instructive. Occasionally sentences exactly identical occur; sometimes the entries, while not identical, agree in substance; at other times incidents mentioned in one are entirely omitted in the others.

From Fort Vancouver as a centre Douglas roamed to the northward as far as Puget Sound, to the Umpqua river in the south, and up and down the Columbia and the Willamette. Twice in 1826 he visited Fort Colville, the new establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company at Kettle Falls. In 1827 he returned to England *via* Hudson Bay with the York Factory express under Edward Ermatinger. This portion of the journal forms an interesting companion volume to Ermatinger's account of the same trip, which was issued in 1912 by the Royal Society of Canada. The extent of his wanderings and the zeal with which he pursued his botanical researches are shown by his own computation, that in those three years he travelled over seven thousand miles. His indefatigable labours added to our botanical vocabulary the names of more than a thousand plants. Naturally the journals are filled with botanical data, to which the editor has added many explanatory foot-notes to bring the text into correspondence with the names given in the *Index Kewensis* or other later authority. They also contain much historical information and will enable the student to trace exactly the movements of the early traders.

The remainder of the volume deals with Douglas's life at the Sandwich Islands in 1833-1834, contains an account of his tragic death there, a list of the plants introduced by him, and a short memoir. To the people of British Columbia it is a matter of great regret that nothing has been included referring to the voyage which he made in 1833 up the Columbia river, and thence by way of Fort Okanogan, the Thompson river, and Fort Alexandria to Fort George. Although on that occasion his canoe was wrecked and his

journal lost, yet his daily letters to Mr. Hooker must contain much that would be valuable both to the botanist and to the historian.

F. W. HOWAY

The Journal of John Work; July 5 to September 15, 1826. Introduction and annotations by T. C. Elliott. (Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. vi, pp. 26-49.)

Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House, 1833-1834. With introduction and notes by C. B. Bagley. (Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. vi, pp. 179-197, and 264-278.)

The *Washington Historical Quarterly* is doing a work, the great value and real importance of which will, in the future, be fully recognized and appreciated. These two journals, like those that have preceded them, are of prime importance as sources. The introductions and annotations by such well known authorities as Mr. Elliott and Mr. Bagley enable every reader with the aid of an ordinary map to follow the stories intelligently.

Work's journal is a continuation of that published in 1914 which ended abruptly just before the writer arrived at Fort Vancouver in June 1826. He now sets out with the interior brigade of nine boats under Mr. Connolly carrying the trading goods for Fort Colville (the new post at Kettle Falls), Kamloops, and New Caledonia. As an index to the volume of the trade of New Caledonia it is noted that the goods therefor are contained in one hundred and two packages of ninety pounds each, which are to be transported to Fort Okanogan and thence by the newly established horse-brigade to Fort Alexandria. David Douglas, the botanist, joins the party at Celilo Falls. After ten days travel Fort Nez Percé is reached. Three days are spent there unsuccessfully in trying to purchase horses. Work now leaves the brigade and ascends the Snake river. The necessary horses are obtained, and, driving them slowly by day and guarding

them carefully by night, Work makes his way to Spokane House. There the band is divided; some are sent to Fort Colville, while James Douglas with the remainder proceeds to Fort Okanogan. After remaining at Colville about twelve days, Work departs on August 16 for the summer trade with the Flatheads and Kootenays, from which he returns on September 6. The journal enters into full particulars as to the furs and other articles obtained on this trip. J. W. Dease, who has been in charge at Colville, leaves for the Boat Encampment in the express boat "deeply loaded with passengers, baggage, and provisions", and Work assumes control.

Even an Indian can mistake a person in the woods for an animal, as the entry of September 15th shows:

"It is reported among the Indians that a woman is killed at a small river on the opposite side of the Columbia, it seems she was gathering nuts, and an Indian who was hunting took her for a bear crawling among the bushes, and shot her."

Fort Nisqually was built on a site selected by Archibald McDonald near the outlet of the Nisqually river into Puget Sound. The *Journal of Occurrences* there begins with McDonald's arrival on the spot in May 1833, and contains a record of the progress of the work and of the humdrum events of a fur trader's life. About nine months are occupied in the completion of the fort buildings and the palisade.

The chief interest for Canada in Nisqually House arises from its being the post closest in touch with Fort Langley, on the Fraser river. Frequent are the references in the journal to the despatch of canoes to, and their arrival from, that fort, though the intervening distance was about one hundred and fifty miles. From the outset, at Nisqually as at Langley, farming, on a scale constantly increasing, was combined with the fur trade. The *Vancouver* and the *Cadboro* arrive and depart; Indians from all parts of Puget Sound—even as far as Neah Bay—gather at the new fort to trade. The entry of June 14, 1833 gives this picture: "A good deal of stir about the little establishment this afternoon, canoes arriving by sea—dozens of horses and riders by land—two

ploughs at work on an endless plain and a ship riding at anchor before the camp is a scene I venture to say not very common in the Indian country far less at a new settlement".

The standard of trade at first adopted was one beaver skin for one blanket; later it was altered to two beaver skins. The Indians complained bitterly of the increased price, causing Heron, who had succeeded McDonald, to philosophize: "The reducing of prices is an easy business, but to raise them a difficult one at all times and ought never to be done but in cases of absolute necessity". No trade was carried on at Nisqually on Sunday; but instead Heron and Dr. Tolmie gave religious instruction to the Indians. Sunday after Sunday the journal records this fact; for instance, the entry of Sunday, December 29, 1833, says: "Held forth for about an hour on religious subjects to the Indians who as usual collected for edification". This shows the fur trader in a new and unexpected light, a pioneer missionary, antedating by about a year the arrival of any permanent missionary of any denomination on the north-west coast.

The publication of the journal will be continued in 1916.

F. W. HOWAY

The *Journal of a Tour to the North West Coast of America in the Year 1829*, by Jonathan S. Green (New York: C. F. Heartman, pp. 105) is a reprint of a series of letters from the missionaries at the Sandwich Islands, relating to the north-west coast of America, published in the *Missionary Herald* between 1821 and 1830. From the days of Meares the Sandwich Islands were a regular rendezvous of the maritime fur-traders. Natives of the north-west coast of America frequently accompanied them; and thus was inspired in the resident missionaries a desire to extend to that region the blessings of Christianity. In 1820 the attention of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was directed to this new field. After much consideration the Reverend Jonathan S. Green was instructed to investigate and report. He sailed from Honolulu in February 1829, in the brig *Volunteer*, then engaged in the coast trade. His

report covers about seventy pages, and, while not entering into the details of the trade, shows incidentally the way in which these Boston pedlars wandered here and there, in and out, along the coast. Reaching Norfolk Sound (Sitka) the vessel, after a delay of three weeks, sailed southward to Observatory Inlet. Green notes that the Hudson's Bay Company was intending to form a settlement there; this trading post, known as Fort Nass, was built in 1830; four years later it was removed and renamed Fort Simpson. From Nass the *Volunteer* sailed to Queen Charlotte Islands and thence to Kiganee on Cordoo Sound, probably the spot well known to the traders, the Tantanee of Meares (4to. ed. p. 367), the Kaigainy on Port Cordova of Roquefeuil (p. 86), and "the village of Kaigani, near Cape Muzon" of Niblack. There Green saw the grave of a chief named "Douglass"; this is doubtless Coneehaw, who in 1788 exchanged names with Captain Douglas, as recorded in Meares's *Voyages*, page 365. On board the *Volunteer* in this vicinity, on Sunday, April 26, 1829, Green preached the first Protestant sermon in British Columbia. His audience was quite cosmopolitan: "two hundred Indians or more, fifteen Englishmen, and ten Sandwich Islanders". Despite this effort, a serious quarrel arose as the vessel was weighing anchor in which a number of persons were killed and injured. After a short visit to Norfolk Sound the barque sailed once more for Queen Charlotte Islands, Nass, and Kiganee. At the latter place the reverend gentleman is delighted to find the Indians approach the vessel singing and blowing feathers as a token of peace. Thence the *Volunteer* makes her way southward past Rose Point following the coast of the islands as far as Skidegate. The totem poles, for which the Haida are famous, seem like large masts carved in the form of the human countenance, of the dog, wolf, etc. Again the *Volunteer* returns to Norfolk Sound and, about September 1, 1829, sails for the Columbia river and the Californian coast. The volume contains very little historical information; but as one of the earliest studies of the natives is of interest to the anthropologist. The religious beliefs, the origin of the

potlatch, the customs of the shargers or shamans, the use of the steetgar or labret, which however seems to have decreased in the interval since Cook's voyage, are all dealt with broadly and sympathetically. This report bore no fruit so far as British Columbia was concerned; it resulted, however, in the formation of the Oregon Mission, with which the name of Marcus Whitman is indissolubly connected.

It is now recognized that in the settlement of the Oregon Question the possession by the Americans of a part of the disputed territory was an important factor. The great migrations of 1843-45 by which this was accomplished were conducted by the Oregon Emigrating Committees. Mr. Harrison C. Dale's paper on *The Organization of the Oregon Emigrating Committees* (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xvi, pp. 205-227) throws much light on the membership, organization, and operation of these companies. They were formed in many centres; travelling agents were, in some cases, sent out to secure adherents; sometimes, for a stated payment, they undertook to furnish all things required on the long journey; sometimes each member was merely required to bring a minimum equipment. As the companies journeyed westward they were confronted by two great problems: the proper limitations of the necessarily autocratic rule of the chiefs of the parties in the no-man's-land west of the Missouri; and the keeping of the component parts of the expeditions close enough for mutual support, yet sufficiently separated to afford good pasture for the animals. The paper is a finished study. Mr. Dale has not attempted to trace the remoter genesis of the Oregon movement. Investigation might show that this movement was not as spontaneous as on the surface it appears to have been.

For over twenty years—1824-1846—the dominating figure in the fur-trade of the north-west coast was Dr. John McLoughlin, "the good old doctor", in the affectionate language of Oregon pioneers. Widely divergent have been

the accounts of the circumstances that led to his resignation from the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and to his beoming an American citizen. Miss Judson now gives us, from the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, *Dr. John McLoughlin's last letter to the Hudson's Bay Company* (American Historical Review, vol. 21, pp. 104-134), which enables us to realize the nature of the troubles. The introduction, taken as a whole, shows a sympathetic understanding of the situation and a fine appreciation of the relative importance of the many factors entering into the dispute. The notes are correct, concise, and illuminating. We must, however, portest against the omission of numerous paragraphs of the original letter, for instance, 55 to 67. As they were regarded by Dr. McLoughlin as germane to the question their removal is an unjustifiable emasculation of the document.

The letter, dated 20th November 1845, is lengthy. The co-operation in the management of the Hudson's Bay Company of two self-willed, autocratic men, like Sir George Simpson and Dr. McLoughlin, brought dissension. Their jurisdictions were none too accurately defined, and there gradually arose the distrust that one was encroaching on the rights of the other. From 1841 downward this feeling increased in intensity. To it was added a strong personal animosity on the part of McLoughlin after the murder of his son John at what he regarded as the callousness of Simpson in investigating the murder and his failure to bring the murderers to trial. Ultimately no action of either, however right or proper it might be, met with the loyal support, or even the approbation of the other. In the letter McLoughlin recounts at great length the circumstances which induced him as the head of the Hudson's Bay Company to submit to the Provisional Government of Oregon in 1843. He shows that he was governed entirely by consideration of the best interests of the company. He then discusses the causes of his son's murder, and complains bitterly of Simpson's conduct towards the persons alleged to be guilty of the crime. He combats various criticisms of his management; in some

instances he even shows that the conduct complained of was ordered by the company. Especially is this true in regard to his dealings with, and his treatment of, the American immigrants. In this connection Miss Judson says: "Throughout McLoughlin's correspondence, his genuine, heartfelt sympathy for the American immigrants shines forth; yet, while following his broad, generous, humane impulses, he would conscientiously fulfil his duty as the representative of a fur-trading company, and live up to his sense of business honour towards his associates and towards his Company". The reader feels that the unselfish, wholesouled devotion of Dr. McLoughlin to the interests of the company had been misrepresented or misunderstood, and this not accidentally. Until the complete correspondence is available, no satisfactory judgment upon the vexed questions can be pronounced.

The interest in the Oregon Trail is perennial. That wonderful highway, once deep marked upon the virgin breast of mountain and prairie, retains and will ever retain this misleading name. Originally a trail in the strict sense of the word, the steady stream of humanity, which moved along it during 1840 and the decades following, increasing with each succeeding year, changed its nature but not its name. Hundreds of heavy, canvas-covered wagons, laden with household goods, crept along it in slow but steady procession, followed by immense droves of cattle. The importance of this great colonization road and its effect upon the settlement of the Oregon Question can scarcely be over-estimated. The surviving pioneers regard it with a reverence magnified by the long interval which has elapsed since they trod it. In the intervening time all has been changed; here a city now covers the trail; there wheat fields and orchards have blotted it out. In 1907 Mr. Ezra Meeker, a pioneer of 1852, set out with an ox team and a typical "prairie schooner" to determine the exact line of the trail and to develop a movement to mark it permanently. In a

little pamphlet, *Story of the lost trail to Oregon* (Seattle, 1915; pp. 30), Mr. Meeker reproduces speeches made by him on that occasion in Ohio, New York, and Illinois. These are charmingly descriptive of the historic road, and strictly accurate in their details. It will surprise many to know that in the vicinity of South Pass "the ancient highway is here in all its primitiveness and solitude, worn deep and wide into the flinty road bed—twelve, twenty, seventy, ninety, aye, two hundred feet wide, and two, five, and fifteen feet deep".

Mr. W. J. Macdonald, formerly Senator of Canada, has been a resident of British Columbia for over sixty years and has been prominent in its varied political history. The publication of his reminiscences (*A Pioneer;* Victoria, 1915; pp. 30) has therefore been awaited with much interest. They are, however, disappointing, for they fail to picture the struggles through which he passed, or to give any appreciation of the strong men—and there were strong men—of the early life of the province. The opening pages, dealing with the years 1851-1858, contain a small amount of interesting matter relating to Victoria and its prominent people during the days of its fort life. Thereafter the reminiscences degenerate into a dry-as-dust record of the movements of the author and his family. One looks in vain for the inner history of the union of British Columbia and Vancouver Island, of the union with Canada, of the railway troubles, or, indeed, of any other important event. There are great gaps, for instance from 1874 to 1884, years called "uneventful" in spite of the fact that they included the visit of Lord Dufferin, the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the settlement of the dispute with the Dominion, and the building of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. Repetitions are frequent and errors almost innumerable. For example: the wreck of the *Seabird* which is dated 1861 (p. 14) should be 1858; the *Beaver* reached the Pacific coast in 1836, not 1826 (p. 18); Governor Seymour arrived in 1864, not in 1865 (p. 18). The proof-reading has been wretchedly done.

The End of the Trail, by E. Alexander Powell (New York: Scribner, 1914; pp. xvi, 463), is a narrative of a journey, mainly by motor-car, from the southern boundary of California to Hazelton on the river Skeena. The last three chapters relate to British Columbia. The author visited Vancouver Island as well as the mainland. His most original exploit was driving a motor-car from Ashcroft to Hazelton, first along the Caribou road, but from Quesnel northward over the most primitive of backwoods trails. His description of the people encountered supplies the chief interest. He tells a story of the experiences of "several hundred soldiers" transported by pack train from eastern Canada to the Klondike on the discovery of gold in that district. It is unnecessary to say that no such body of troops was ever sent to the Klondike, nor could they have been sent by the route he specifies.

The official correspondence relating to the Treaty of 1825 between Great Britain and Russia is familiar to all students of the Alaska Boundary Question, but from Mr. James White's *Treaty of 1825—Correspondence Respecting the Boundary between Russian America (Alaska) and British North America* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, vol. ix, sec. ii, pp. 65-77) an interesting insight into the inner history of the negotiations is obtained. After a short introduction, Mr. White reproduces seven confidential letters from Sir Charles Bagot, British Ambassador to Russia, to George Canning, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. They cover the period between October 1823 and August 1824, during which the ambassador was endeavouring, unsuccessfully, to reach an understanding with Count Nesselrode regarding the conflicting claims of the two countries to the north-west coast of America. The letters contain outspoken opinions and have an air of freedom, quite refreshing, in contrast with the reserve of the official dispatches of the same dates, which are contained in the Appendix to the Case of the United States before the Alaska Boundary Tribunal, 1904 (Senate Document, 162, pages 129,

153, and 190). They show, as Mr. White says, the secret opposition of the United States and demonstrate the insincerity of Middleton, the American Minister. Middleton's correspondence itself, as printed in the same document (pages 79 and 93), gives colour to this conclusion; it also shows his anxiety to induce his Government, by taking possession, to carry the American claims on the Pacific coast northward as far as "the left bank of the first bold river" flowing into the Gulf of Georgia. Bagot failed, but Middleton succeeded: the treaty between Russia and the United States was signed on April 17, 1824.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS AND STATISTICS

The Canadian Commonwealth. By Agnes C. Laut. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1915. Pp. 334.

This volume by Miss Laut forms one of a new series, now in course of publication in the United States, entitled "Problems of the Nations". An amazing freedom of style betokens its popular character, and renders any assessment of scholarship unnecessary. Its appeal, following the manner of the American newspaper press, is direct, vivid and forceful; but inflated rhetoric and over-wrought sentiment place it beyond the range of critical consideration. The author enjoys an enviable first-hand knowledge of the prairie provinces; a knowledge which appears to advantage in her recent books on the old North-west. These furnish very readable narratives, rendered attractive, perhaps, by the rather fictitious romantic glamour in which they envelop a by-gone period. The more ambitious attempt which the present work represents involves a more noticeable disregard of a fitting standard. In view of the high association of its title with Lord Bryce's *American Commonwealth*,—of which at first glance it seems to be the Canadian counterpart,—its crudity becomes the more conspicuous.

The prevailing tone is one of inspired optimism, as in the following false strain of confidence (p. 111):

> "So far scarcely a cloud appears on the horizon of Canada's national destiny. Like a ship launched roughly from her stays to tempests in shallow water, she seems to have left tempests and shallow water behind and to have sailed proudly out to the great deeps."

But the flood of immigration, particularly the clash of races on the Pacific coast, should make us apprehensive. Miss Laut, in her characteristic language, warns us abruptly (p. 154) that in the child-wife scandal of the Hindus, and other unsavoury perils, we are "up against a side of the subject that is neither violet water nor pink tea". Such hetero-

geneous alien elements must never by force of mere numbers, be allowed to modify a political fabric, built, as Miss Laut pictures it (p. 10), on a basis of tragic self-sacrifice:

"In a blood and sweat of agony, on the scaffold, in the chain gang, penniless, naked, hungry and in exile, her [Canada's] patriots had fought the dragon of privilege, cast out the accursed thing and founded national life on the eternal rocks of justice to all, special privileges to none. . . . From the death scaffolds of these patriots sprang that part of Canada's national consciousness that reveres law next to God."

Later on Miss Laut enquires (p. 247): "How does the Canadian live in his home? Is he beer-drinking, lethargic, dreamy and flabby in will power; or is he whiskey-drinking, fiery, practical and pugnacious?" Surely practical; but do all the three other characteristics in this part of the alternative follow? And here is a flight of fancy worth recording (p. 247):

"In our snow covered prairies edged by the violet mist, lined in silver and pricked at night by the diamond light of a million stars, we are living art, not painting it. That our mountains are dumb and inarticulate, that our forests chant the litany of the pines untranslated to the winds of heaven, and that our cataracts thunder their diapasons inimitable to art, etc., etc."

Rhapsodizing apart, and reading between the lines, we can see that Miss Laut's interpretation of Canada derives its force from its confident forecast of the future. Believing that wheat is to be the country's chief economic asset, Miss Laut seems to expect eventually an agrarian commonwealth, centred in the prairie provinces, with wheat politics in the ascendant. Of industrialism, whether as a present evil or as a future danger, Miss Laut's opinion reveals an unconcealed dread,—she deprecates the high tariff under which factories are alleged to flourish; the degenerate type of immigrant to which they are supposed to give employment; and their tendency to cultivate and spread an exotic socialism. To save Canada from further industrialization, the two major problems of immigration and transportation are to be directed so as to secure a hardy, agricultural population only, having every facility for placing its products cheaply and quickly on the European market. Beyond this simplified and restricted outlook Miss Laut's vision of the commonwealth does not extend. Towards any broader conception of the State, towards even educational refinement as a desirable social atmosphere, her attitude remains contemptuous

and hostile. The life of the commonwealth begins and ends in a "far-flung epic of the fenceless prairie".

There seems little need to attempt to impugn the prophetic phase of this not unfamiliar theory. If Miss Laut's purpose was, in part, to direct the attention of foreign capital to the enticing possibilities of the wheat area, the case for the West has been well put.

But, however much the author may seem to be carried away with the magnitude of the country's undeveloped resources, her book, in form at least, remains a discussion of other less material problems. Leaving the familiar ground of the concrete, Miss Laut essays an interpretation of the subjective side of Canadian society. It is a very difficult thing to do, and, in our judgment, she has not done it creditably. A slight sketch of the historical background of Canadian political thought, leads to studies of "Americanisation", and of the tie that binds Canada and the United Kingdom; to studies also of religion, education, art and letters. At best, these resolve themselves into vigorously commonplace —and in no sense representative—opinions upon the deeper and more intimate manifestations of Canadian life. In this respect the book leaves an unfavourable impression, and we deplore the partial and distorted view of Canada it may spread abroad.

Perhaps it will call attention to the need of a work similar in scope, but adequate and scholarly in treatment, which shall do for Canada what Lord Bryce's *American Commonwealth* did for the United States. Such a treatise, judiciously carried out, would be distinctly a national service.

C. E. FRYER

Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel (new issue): North America, vol. I: *Canada and Newfoundland*. Edited by Henry M. Ami. Second edition, revised. London: Edward Stanford, Ltd., 1915. Pp. xxviii, 1070.

The volume on Canada in the former edition of *Stanford's Compendium* was written by the late Dr. S. E. Dawson,

and was in its way a noteworthy book. The author was widely read in Canadian history, and, though not without prejudices, he had a trenchant style with which to enforce his judgments on by-gone men and measures. In his competent hands, therefore, the volume was much more than a work of reference on the geography and statistics of Canada. The editor of the new edition is attached to the Geological Survey of Canada, and his interests and attainments are chiefly scientific. The result of his revision of Dawson's work is a volume in which the geographical and statistical part is practically rewritten while few changes have been made in the historical narrative except those required to bring it up to date. As the earlier edition was published in 1897, the statistics had to be almost entirely recast. Expansion in various directions has introduced new topics for statistical comparison. The face of western Canada has been transformed since the close of the nineteenth century. Saskatchewan and Alberta have been created provinces, large additions have been made to the territory of Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec. To all these matters Dr. Ami has given due space and attention.

The natural features of the country are set forth with reasonable completeness, although the geology receives more space and is expounded in more detail than a geographical work requires. The least satisfactory portion is the historical. The editor has relied so entirely upon his predecessor's authority in such matters that he reprints, almost without change, the chapters on early exploration and settlement. But the eighteen years that have elapsed since Dawson wrote have witnessed some discoveries of new facts or material invalidating conclusions that seemed quite sound when they were first drawn. Thus, the whole question of the landings of the Norsemen has been reopened in recent years, and it is no longer generally accepted that New England or even Nova Scotia was ever seen by them, or that the saga of Eric the Red can be treated as a veracious narrative in its details. Similarly the records of the Cabot voyages are undergoing a new process of sifting, and it is by no means

certain that Cabot in his second voyage "coasted along the shores of Acadia, New England and Virginia".

Some of Dr. Dawson's historical strictures are no longer justifiable, and the editor would have been well advised to rewrite or modify more than he has done the passages relating to the expulsion of the Acadians and the references to boundary disputes. Mr. James White has of late years cleared up much of the misunderstanding about the various boundary disputes with the United States, and shown the injustice of ascribing to British indifference or ineptitude the decisions by which Canada failed to obtain the boundary line which it claimed. To some extent Dawson's original account has been edited, but not carefully enough. For instance, on page 18, amendment has confused the whole statement and leaves it quite uncertain whether the Jay Treaty or the Ashburton Treaty is being discussed. The statement that "the religious wars of France led to the colonization of New France" requires some explanation, and the further statement that "at least 10,000 settlers . . found refuge in Canada", presumably because they were persecuted in France for their religion, is certainly incorrect.

Not only in the historical section has the editing been somewhat insufficient. A few errors that might have been avoided may be pointed out. On page 36 it is said that it "is proposed" to make the Chicago drainage canal, but the canal is now completed. The statement that up to 1905 the Dominion was "a confederation of distinct colonies or provinces, each of which had previously a constitution of its own" (p. 128) leaves out of sight the formation of Manitoba as a province in 1870. The last sentence on page 301 is ambiguous, but occurring as it does in a historical account of the province of Quebec it is likely to mislead. The statistics of the universities of Canada have apparently been copied from the earlier edition, so that the reader is asked to believe that in 1915, or even in 1913, the numbers of students in McGill University and in the Montreal Laval University were identical with the numbers in 1897. The University of Toronto comes off even worse, because a fuller account is

attempted. The Faculties of Education and Forestry are not mentioned at all, and Trinity University is included in the list of independent universities unconnected with the provincial institution. The description of University College as having "a large teaching staff of professors and lecturers for all its faculties, which are well equipped with practical apparatus, museums, etc." shows that the editor has not mastered the intricacies of the organization of the University of Toronto.

An interesting paper on the relation of geography to political history is that on *The St. Lawrence river and its part in the making of Canada*, by R. H. Whitbeck (*Bulletin* of the American Geographical Society, August, 1915; pp. 584-93). The St. Lawrence river is the one readily available entrance to Canada from the Atlantic; it is also an entrance that facilitates approach to the very heart of the continent. The political effect of the latter feature is shown in the ease with which the French explored and claimed for their own, not only the territory adjacent to the river and the Great Lakes, but the Mississippi valley also, access to which was given by their command of the Great Lakes. Thus French settlements of a kind were made far behind the wall of the Appalachians before the English colonists along the Atlantic coast had thought of crossing that barrier. In modern times the St. Lawrence still determines the trade routes. Montreal, at the strategic point in the river system, is the commercial capital of the country and the focal point for all the railways.

A History of Travel in America, by Seymour Dunbar (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company; pp. lii, 1530, divided into four volumes), has very little to do with Canada. By America, in the title, is evidently meant the United States. Canadian conditions and customs are, however, touched upon in the descriptions of the canoe and other primitive craft, the two-wheeled carriage known in the province of Quebec as the *calèche*, the sleigh and the dog-sled. But nowhere else in the four volumes is there any

allusion to that part of the continent lying north of the United States. A very interesting book might be written about the progress of travel and the development of means of locomotion in Canada. There are chapters in the early history of what are now the western provinces that cannot be understood without some realization of the difficulties of transportation in the days before the railways. Mr. Dunbar's book is no doubt a useful contribution to the social and economic history of the United States. He devotes considerable space to the continual disputes and not infrequent warfare between the expanding republic and the Indian tribes, and finds a reason for these conflicts in the necessity for secure roads between centres of settlement which were separated by Indian territories. One branch of the subject which would have been interesting to students of Canadian history, the development of steamboat traffic on the Great Lakes, is very inadequately treated; it receives hardly more than a passing reference. One of the best features of the book is the wealth of illustrations copied from old prints and drawings. The author concludes his survey with the completion in 1869 of the Central Pacific Railway, by which unbroken railway communication was established from Atlantic to Pacific.

Highways of the Fur Trade. By Lawrence J. Burpee. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, series iii, vol. viii, sect. ii, pp. 183-192.)

Mr. Burpee gives interesting and racy accounts of the various water routes used by the early fur traders on their journeys from headquarters in Montreal or York Factory to the remote parts of western Canada. The canoe route from York Factory by the Hayes river is described. Mr. Burpee states that two of the earliest travellers who visited the inland country, namely Anthony Hendry and Matthew Cocking, used this route as far south as Knee lake. In fact their route left what is now known as Hayes river at the mouth of Hill river and ascended Deer river, which is the main stream, to Deer lake, and thence to Cross lake, and onward to the Saskatchewan country. The route appears

to have been first used by white men about the year 1776, when it was surveyed by Philip Turnor, a clerk in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Mr. Burpee is scarcely correct in the statement that neither Churchill nor Nelson river "was ever developed into a trade route into the interior", for they were both used for a quarter of a century or more, the former into what was known as the New Churchill District, comprising Reindeer and Indian lakes, and the upper waters of the river, and the latter into the "Muskrat country" on the Grass and Burntwood rivers, one of the richest, if not the richest, fur-producing country in the whole of western Canada. The Hayes river route was used by the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company on their way into the Saskatchewan country, and afterwards into the Athabasca district because it passed Cumberland House, to which place an abundant supply of pemmican or dried buffalo meat was annually sent from the posts up the Saskatchewan.

The water routes from Montreal are traced with skill and care, clearly showing that the author is quite familiar with the work of the explorers and fur traders who travelled westward either through Lakes Ontario and Erie, or else up the Ottawa river to Lake Huron and thence through Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg. From Lake Winnipeg the travellers are followed southward up the Red river, westward up the Saskatchewan river, or north-west to the Athabasca and Mackenzie rivers.

Alexander Mackenzie is followed across the Rocky Mountains by the head waters of Peace river on his way to the Pacific, which he reached on the 22nd of July 1793. In describing the routes across the backbone of the continent by the headwaters of the North Saskatchewan river the author was probably misled by the present reviewer in stating that Duncan McGillivray crossed the continental divide in 1800, but it is now known that this fur-trader's route that year was up the Saskatchewan and Brazeau rivers to Brazeau lake, and over a range of mountains west of Brazeau lake into the upper valley of the Athabasca river, where he

turned back without reaching the continental watershed. The route across the Rocky Mountains, known as Howse Pass, was first travelled by David Thompson in 1807, but it was given its present name by Arrowsmith, the mapmaker, after Joseph Howse, a writer or clerk in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company who travelled through it in 1810, and not after Jaspar Hawes, a trader and postmaster in the employ of the North-West Company, afterwards in charge of Jaspar House near the headwaters of Athabasca river.

In spite of a few mistakes, which are necessarily accentuated in such a brief review as this, the paper is a very interesting sketch of the lines of travel through north-western Canada in the early fur-trading days.

J. B. TYRRELL

The Hudson Bay Road. By A. H. De Tremaudan. London & Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1915. Pp. xvi, 264.

Canadians are fond of thinking that their country is of vast extent and that its possibilities of production and development are unlimited, but when questions are asked as to the nature of these possibilities the answers are usually limited to conditions now thoroughly understood and do not extend to new ones. Yet the time is not remote when the whole of western Canada, from Georgian Bay west to the Pacific ocean, was regarded by the great majority of the people of eastern Canada as a vast frigid and uninhabitable waste with no possibilities beyond the fur trade. A few explorers and buffalo hunters knew better, but when it was decided to build a railroad through this waste, the statement that the rails would never be used, and would become only two parallel lines of rust, was widely believed. In spite of this, the Canadian Pacific Railway was built, and through its agency one of the richest wheat-growing regions of the world was opened to settlement.

Now, however, that the north-west is being thickly settled, there is a danger that the people of Canada may again become pessimistic, and that the prophetic vision,

which was favoured by the first development of the west, may be passing away. The Government of Canada is, therefore, the more to be congratulated on its determination not to be restricted by the views of the pessimist in its policy of opening up more of western Canada, but rather to follow the example of its predecessors of thirty years ago who built the Canadian Pacific Railway, and to create an entirely new line of travel, in this instance by building a railway, four hundred and eighty-three miles long from the mouth of Nelson river, on the west side of Hudson Bay, to Pas, on the Saskatchewan river, and thus to connect the seaboard on the north with the inland continental area on the south. The progress of this work has a deep interest, and the publication is welcome of Mr. De Tremaudan's book *The Hudson Bay Road*, in which is presented an account of the history and progress of the enterprise itself and of the country to be served by the railway, as well as of the probable advantages from its construction.

The author collects the evidence of those who have visited Hudson Bay, and who have noted the possibilities of navigation. The men so cited, comprising scientific investigators of the highest standing, sea captains, casual visitors, etc., all agree that the Bay is open to navigation for a substantial part of each year. In addition to these opinions the records kept at the fur-trading posts of the Hudson's Bay Company on the shore of the Bay show clearly that the harbours near these trading posts are open throughout the summer. The evidence on these two points should be sufficient to prove the possibility of using Hudson Bay as a water route. The Hudson Bay railway, now nearly completed, will furnish the means of carrying this material between the shore of the Bay and the settled districts inland. The author lived at Pas, the southern terminus, and for two years edited there a newspaper, the *Hudson Bay Herald*. As editor he secured such information as was available about the country between the Saskatchewan river and Hudson Bay, through which the railway was being built, and he shows very convincingly that the natural resources

of this country are sufficiently important to furnish a large quantity of local traffic.

The first seven chapters of the book, comprising forty-eight pages, are in the nature of an introduction to the main subject, and are devoted to a brief but interesting history of the early fur trade in this portion of north-western Canada, with sketches of some of the more important men who were engaged in it, among whom were Samuel Hearne, Alexander Henry, Alexander Mackenzie and David Thompson. A chapter is devoted to the natural features of the Saskatchewan river itself from Lake Winnipeg westward to the great plains. Two chapters treat of the political history and organization of the new northern district which, within the last few years, has been added to the province of Manitoba, and has extended the boundaries of that province to include a portion of the shore of Hudson Bay. Two more chapters describe the condition and growth of the town of Pas, the chief centre of population of this new northern portion of the province.

The author might have accentuated the fact that this district, which was known to these fur traders as the "Muskrat Country", is of particular economic and historical interest. It was one of the richest fur-producing districts on the continent, and for many years in the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, was the chief battle ground between the fur traders of the North-West Company from Montreal, who reached it in canoes by way of Lakes Superior and Winnipeg, and of the fur traders of the Hudson's Bay Company from London, who reached it through York Factory and Churchill. Although the country lay so near to Hudson Bay, it was first occupied by the fur traders from Montreal who secured immense profits before the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company, living on the shore of the Bay, realized that they must follow their competitors inland if they wished to retain even a portion of the Indian trade.

The book is written in a clear and convincing style and the material is well arranged. Thirty good illustrations

and two maps add much to the interest of the volume. A good and copious index makes it possible to turn easily to any desired reference.

J. B. TYRRELL

The Real United States and Canada Pocket Guide-book, by William Harman Black (New York: The Association for New York; pp. xlii, 306) is a convenient and condensed manual of information useful to the traveller and tourist. It specifies railway fares, cab tariffs, hotels and hotel prices, and enumerates the chief objects of interest in each town. Two Canadian transcontinental lines alone are included.

The *Letters from America* of the young poet Rupert Brooke (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916; pp. xlii, 180) are reprints of articles in the *Westminster Gazette* which he wrote on a trip to the East by way of America. Nine of the dozen chapters relate to Canada, "Montreal and Ottawa", "Quebec and the Saguenay", "Ontario", "Niagara Falls", "To Winnipeg", and so on through the West. The book has interest as the work of a penetrating mind not, perhaps, too well equipped by earlier reading and observation to judge wisely. There is some cock-sureness such as one would expect from a clever young poet. Of Toronto he says with prophetic insight of this kind: "it will always be what it is, only larger, and . . . no Canadian city can ever be anything better or different". Friends in the United States told him not to visit Canada, "a country without a soul", but he found the soul of beauty at Quebec, at Niagara and other places. The book has the value for future students of a comment on the Canada of to-day by a keen observer. There is plenty of colour. Thus at Niagara "the colour of the water is the ever-altering wonder. Greens and blues, purples and whites, melt into one another, fade, and come again, and change with the changing sun". He satirizes the lust for mere size which he found in western cities. When he goes into the remote wilderness he has a sense of solemn loneliness, for the Canadian wilds have no history. "One

misses the dead", the traditions and memories of former days. Altogether a striking record of a journey, and, on the whole, accurate in its observations.

Mr. E. H. Lacon Watson, a literary man by profession, made a journey in Canada and the United States a few years ago, and the book now published, *A Conversational tour in America* (London: Elkin Matthews, 1914; pp. 192), consists apparently of the weekly letters contributed during his tour to some English periodical. The author had no mission, nor did he betray any special interest in the problems that agitate the colonization expert. He gives mere personal impressions, such as a cultivated man, possessing trained powers of observation, might accumulate. He entered into conversations with anybody he encountered, and enjoyed the humours of humanity as well as the beauties of nature. In Canada he visited Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto and Niagara Falls, and crossed the continent by the Canadian Pacific Railway, making short halts at Winnipeg, Calgary, Vancouver and Victoria. The information which he imparts in his solitary incursion into the history of Canada (p. 87) is, unfortunately, entirely erroneous.

Round the world in strange company, by Nicholas Everitt (London: T. Werner Laurie; pp. xvi, 283), is the account of a tour on the continent of North America. The Canadian part relates to British Columbia, which the author visited from the States to the south. He was quite unconventional in making his halts in backwoods settlements and lumber camps rather than cities, and his chief pursuit was fishing, which took him away from the ordinary tourist's track. He gives a fearful picture of the ruinous vice that pervades the lumbering districts, and wisely advises the British Columbia legislators to study the methods that prevail in the lumber camps of Norway.

Mr. F. C. Cooper, a young English (or Scottish) engineer, employed by the construction department of the Canadian

Northern Railway, spent eight months in 1909 on the line near Sudbury in Northern Ontario. He has written an unpretending little book, *In the Canadian Bush* (London: Heath, Cranton & Ouseley, Ltd.; pp. 90), on his experiences. It is quite veracious and describes the setting and the ordinary humdrum life of an engineer's camp just ahead of the actual construction work.

A Guide to the National Parks of America, by Edward Frank Allen (New York: McBride, Nast & Company; pp. 286), contains a chapter on Canadian national parks. There are now about twelve of these, most of them as yet only partially patrolled or even surveyed, but wisely chosen thus early both as catchment areas and to provide sanctuaries for game and also to save from the greedy hand of the exploiter at least a measure of that beauty of the wilderness with which Canada is so richly endowed. The provinces within which lie the Rocky Mountains and the parallel or subsidiary ranges are naturally favoured with the most spectacular of these reserved districts. British Columbia has four, Alberta three, all of them attractive to tourists in search of grand mountain scenery. The Algonquin Park in Ontario, one of the largest, is already a favourite resort for campers. It is situated in the midst of the wild Laurentian country, full of little lakes and rapid streams, overgrown with spruce and pine, a refuge for deer and beaver and the smaller fur-bearing animals that once constituted the sole natural wealth of the country. Besides the national parks proper there are certain government reservations for wild animals where no travel is permitted. The number of these might well be increased, and particularly in the direction of preserving unmolested breeding-grounds for many species of birds which are threatened with extinction.

The Unexploited West (Ottawa, 1914; pp. xiv, 362) is a Government document, a compilation by Major Ernest J. Chambers of opinions on the prospective agricultural and mineral productiveness of the great territory which extends

from about the latitude of the North Saskatchewan river to the Arctic ocean, exclusive of the Yukon Territory and the Ungava district of the province of Quebec. Naturally, the favourable views are the ones chosen for quotation. On this principle the Barren Lands, which are notoriously devoid of timber, are discussed under the heading of "Treegrowth and timber resources", and much is made of the fact that explorers have found timber along some of the river courses, particularly the Thelon river. However, on reading the testimony contained in the chapter one is not highly impressed with the possibility of the Barren Lands as a source of timber supply, in spite of the headings of some of the sections, such as "Of great value to Canada", "The Thelon spruce groves phenomenal". The quotation from Mr. E. A. Preble's report to which the latter heading applies speaks of the "northern extension of the coniferous forest along the banks of northward-flowing rivers" as a "phenomenon", which is not quite the same as being phenomenal. Still, the main purpose of the document is to arouse interest and this object it is well calculated to effect. Without including the Barren Lands there is much territory valuable from an economic standpoint in the northern parts of Canada that will some day be exploited, and that day may be hastened by advertising such as this. The historical chapter that begins the book is interesting and fairly complete, although in some details not abreast of the latest scholarship.

Deux oubliés de l'histoire, by Judge L. A. Prud'homme (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, ser. iii, vol. viii, sect. i, pp. 357-80) is a sketch of the careers of two men, the materials for which were doubtless collected by oral testimony, although the author does not say so directly. Jean Baptiste Bruce was a *métis*, born at Ile-à-la-Crosse, who was in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company about the middle of the nineteenth century. The great event of his life was his engagement as guide in the expedition of Richardson and Rae in search of Sir John Franklin. Judge Prud'homme gives an account of that expedition presumably

according to Bruce. It is ludicrously unlike the true account as it may be read in Richardson's journal printed in his book *The Arctic searching expedition*, published in London in 1851. In the first place the year of the expedition was 1848, not 1850. The dates also given for various stages in the course of the exploration along the Arctic coast do not correspond to the dates as Richardson has them. Then there is an imaginary expedition to the mouth of the Coppermine river by Rae, with Bruce and three others, which is said to occupy about a fortnight, and during which Richardson and the rest of the party are supposed to have remained at the river Hopper in huts constructed out of their abandoned boats. This river may be intended for the Hoppner river, which flows into the Arctic sea west of the Coppermine, but there is no foundation in fact either for the halt at that river by Richardson and the majority of the party or for the subsidiary expedition of Rae and four others from that base. On the contrary, Richardson's journal tells us exactly to what point the whole party pressed on in their boats, which was not the mouth of the Hoppner river, and what they decided to do and did on arriving there, and has almost daily reference to Rae, showing that the latter never left his leader on any subsidiary expedition as stated in the account that is sponsored by Judge Prud'homme. There is, in fact, no history in this new narrative, but merely the confused recollections of an uneducated old man, eked out by his imagination. Two incidents mentioned, which can be identified in Richardson's journal, show very clearly how untrustworthy Bruce's memories could be. He says that at the beginning of the overland journey Richardson abandoned a tin box containing "un grand nombre de lettres, *fac simile* de celles écrites par Franklin". What letters could these be, of which copies, not necessarily in facsimile, were so precious? We know that the expedition discovered no letters of Franklin. If such letters had been discovered they would have been the last things abandoned. It seems impossible to suppose that Richardson was treasuring up copies of letters, the originals of which were safe in England. We learn

from Richardson what he did abandon, viz., a collection of dried plants and some books. Again, Bruce states that he offered to carry Richardson's gun on the march, an offer which was gratefully accepted. Richardson, in his journal, notes the fact that he was relieved of his gun by a younger member of the party, and he names the person who relieved him of it, but that person was an English sailor named Dore. This is a trifling mistake, but it shows how incidents became transformed in Bruce's memory after thirty or forty years. We have given some space to this matter, because it is unworthy of the Royal Society of Canada to include among its professedly historical papers material so entirely without value as this. The other "oublié de l'histoire" is Jean Louis Légaré, a French-Canadian from the province of Quebec, who spent most of his life as a trader in the north-western States, but his doings do not relate to Canada.

In the *Bulletin* of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia (vol. xii, pp. 47-69) is a paper by David E. Wheeler on *The Dog-rib Indian and his home*. The author spent a year in exploring and hunting between Fort Rae on the north arm of Great Slave Lake and the sources of the Coppermine river beyond Fort Enterprise. Besides studying the Dog-rib Indians, a mild, inoffensive type of savage, he made some geographical investigations, identifying certain features named by Franklin and later explorers and supplying material for the correction of existing maps. The reproduction on a reduced scale of his own map is almost useless.

The admirable explorations being carried out by Stefánsson in the Arctic regions of Canada will doubtless some day be described by himself in a book. Meanwhile we must record the brief notices that appear from year to year giving the outstanding facts of his journeys. *Mr. Stefánsson's Expedition* (*Geog. Jl.*, Dec., pp. 457-9) contains a letter from him dated July 19, with a statement of his discoveries up to that date. The *Bulletin* of the American Geographical Society (October, pp. 766-9) has a similar statement. He seems to

have successfully charted the western coastline of Prince Patrick Island, and he sighted new land of considerable extent north of Prince Patrick Island, with rugged hills of some height trending eastward.

The great naturalist, John Muir, who died recently, left behind him almost ready for the printer the manuscript narrative of his two first journeys to the Alaskan glacier fiords in 1879 and 1880, together with the diary of a later expedition to Muir glacier in 1890. These are now issued under the title *Travels in Alaska* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company; pp. xii, 328). Besides his eminence as a scientific investigator of all forms of glacier action, Muir had a deserved reputation as a master of literary expression. This volume contains many glowing descriptions of grand mountain, and especially glacier mountain, scenery. The author was one of the last of the band of great Scottish geologists who were not too exclusively scientific to express the religious emotions of their souls in the presence of the marvels of nature. The book therefore possesses the double attraction of poetic enthusiasm for noble scenery and scientific accuracy of description. In 1879, when Muir made his first visit to the Alaskan coast, no Klondike gold had been discovered. The Indians of the islands and bays were still to a great extent uncorrupted by contact with hordes of gold-seekers and their vicious attendants. There were also no tourists. The missionaries and a few traders and trappers constituted the white population of the coast. On this account alone the narrative of the journeys of 1879 and 1880 is interesting, as a record of conditions now irrevocably gone. Most of the book, describing the fiords of the coast, deals with what is United States territory. But on his first journey Muir spent some time on the Stikine river, ascending it to beyond Telegraph Creek. He even crossed the divide and visited Dease lake and the headwaters of the Dease river, one of the tributaries of the Mackenzie river basin. All this part of the book is of great interest. The scenery of the Stikine river filled him with

enthusiasm. He explored two of the largest glaciers that descend to the river, seeing in anticipation the time when they should have melted away and their deep channels cut through the mountains should be the Yosemite valleys of future ages for the seekers after nature's grandeurs.

The *Alpine Journal* (vol. xxviii, pp. 355-369) contains a paper by A. L. Munn on *A Trip up the Whirlpool River.* He deals in it with the question of the identification of David Douglas's Mount Brown and Mount Hooker, and comes to a conclusion somewhat different from that of Dr. Coleman in his *Climbs and explorations in the Canadian Rockies.*

In the July number of the *Bulletin* of the American Geographical Society (vol. xlvii, pp. 481-497) is an interesting account by Miss Mary L. Jobe of an expedition to *Mt. Kitchi*, a peak of the Rocky Mountains about eighty miles north-west of Mt. Robson. The party did not succeed in reaching the summit, for reasons fully set forth in the paper, but the author and a guide climbed to the base of the last peak, a height of about 8000 feet. The difficulties encountered were undoubtedly very great. The illustrations in the article are rather poor; some of the same photographs are far more successfully reproduced in the *Canadian Alpine Journal* to accompany an abbreviated narrative by Miss Jobe of this journey. The map, however, in the *Bulletin* is carefully done, having been prepared under the superintendence of the Assistant Editor who appends a note on the subject.

The annual volume of the *Canadian Alpine Journal* for 1915 is full of interest. It contains narratives of three separate attempts to ascend Mt. Robson, the highest peak in the Canadian Rocky Mountains, of which one only was successful, although the two unsuccessful parties had managed to come within a few hundred feet of the summit when bad weather and the approach of night obliged both alike to turn back. Kain, the Swiss guide who led the party that made

the successful ascent, the very first as far as can be ascertained, contributes the most interesting account, although all of them are most graphic. Accounts of ascents of other mountains are also included in the volume. The journeys of exploration are not as numerous this year. Two narratives of the same expedition up the Whirlpool river, by G. E. Howard and A. L. Munn, are complementary. There are several papers in the "Scientific" and "Miscellaneous" sections of considerable interest. One on National Parks, by the Hon. W. R. Ross, describes the new reservation by the government of the province of British Columbia of an area round Mt. Robson. The origin of the name of the great mountain, along with that of other names in the Yellowhead Pass region, is examined in a valuable paper by Mr. James White, who sifts the available evidence in masterly fashion. There is, however, a curious dispute as to the origin of the name, Mt. Robson. Mr. Ross, relying upon the memory of Mr. H. J. Moberly, one of the few survivors of those who first surveyed railway routes across the mountains, gives one explanation, which Mr. White finds himself unable to accept. The editor of the volume takes part in the controversy by appending a note to Mr. White's paper, in which he reiterates the explanation given by Mr. Ross. Miss Jobe's paper on an expedition to Mt. Kitchi is somewhat condensed from a paper in the Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, noticed above.

In Western Canada before the War. A study of communities. By E. B. Mitchell. London: John Murray, 1915. Pp. xii, 206.

The author of this little book is a Scottish lady, whose chief interest is in what are called social problems. She spent a part of 1913 in the Canadian western provinces, some of her visits being to families engaged in farming, others to dwellers in towns. The first half of the book is called "Impressions"; in this she records something of her personal experiences together with the criticisms or appreciations that suggest themselves as an immediate

result. She is a highly competent observer, and her knowledge of country life is quite adequate to comprehension of farming conditions in western Canada. But her understanding of life on the farms is rather useful as a background to her study of town conditions than as an end in itself. She seems to have seized at once the truth that it is the growth of towns, not the progress of agriculture, that is the most marked feature in Canadian development at present, and that the well-being of the country depends, for the moment at least, on the welfare of the urban population. A small town of about 7000 inhabitants, not given a name, in which she spent the summer of 1913, supplied her with many examples both for encouragement and discouragement. The attraction of the city pervades the entire west. There riches are acquired, not on the farms; the town is, of course, the home of social pleasures; even education, which plays so important a part in the ambition of settlers, is only to be had in its advanced forms in the largest cities. All these influences are magnets to draw from the farms the most capable and energetic of the young men and young women. The necessity of combating this attraction of the city has led the Government of Alberta to establish agricultural schools on the prairie itself, not combining them into a department of the university with its seat in Edmonton, because it was feared that even those who came to the town to learn farming would lose in the town their taste for their own chosen pursuit. To meet the same difficulty, in Saskatchewan the provincial university interests itself in Homemakers' Clubs, the object of which is to ameliorate social conditions on the farms.

The second part of the book is called "Reflections" and contains a weighty array of facts and conclusions that might be studied with advantage by all who have to do with Canadian development. The problems that Canada has to deal with are those with which the United States has been grappling for a generation, without conspicuous success. Can Canada learn a lesson from the experiences of its neighbour? The rapid growth of towns in Canada is proceeding

under just the same unwholesome conditions as it did in the United States after the Civil War. A few people are becoming very rich while far more are sinking into depths of poverty, and congregating in "slum" districts. The effort to cope with the unhealthy conditions that accompany over-crowding is hardly appreciable.

Canada, again, is advertised widely as the land of agricultural opportunities. Yet statistics of agricultural production show an arrested development since the year 1911 and, in one important branch, stock-raising, an actual falling-off since the year 1908. The agricultural population, even of the prairie provinces, does not grow at anything like the rate of the urban, and in the older provinces (except Quebec) it does not grow at all. The author sums up her impressions of country conditions in the West as follows:

"Altogether the western rural life struck me as being in a precarious position, the depression was so general. Had the harvest of 1913 also been frosted, I do not like to think what would have happened. . . . A general policy cannot be based upon good harvests and virgin soil all the time. Unless something comes soon to raise the economic position of the farmer, I think there is a real danger that a decay will set in like the rural decay in the East, and that the country will be left mainly to 'the foreigners'".

The third primary problem of Canada is that of immigration. The great bulk of immigration has been coming of late from the more backward European countries. The advertising propaganda of the governments has resulted in a super-abundance of material very difficult to assimilate. Consequently there is in process of formation a lower stratum of society in which the standard of living, as well as ideals of education, government, and even conduct, is on a lower plane than that of the rest of the population. In the sentence quoted above the author suggests that the agricultural population of the West may come to consist largely of this lower stratum of foreigners. "Is it well", she asks, "that the Canadians should leave the prairie? Can Canada, with her democratic constitution, afford to base herself on an

ignorant non-English-speaking peasantry, winning a bare living by unceasing labour?"

Some of the author's casual observations are worth noting. The towns in the West, she notes, are surrounded not by farms, but by a ring of unbroken barren prairie, four or five miles wide. This is the result of speculation in town lots of the future. This great extent of uncultivated land, so near to its market, is obviously an economic evil. The same evil is encountered even in the heart of Edmonton, where the Hudson's Bay Company owns a square mile of land which it will neither sell nor turn to account. She concludes that there is need of a stronger communal control of town land. Speaking of educational matters the author lets fall a pregnant sentence: "It is everywhere the special temptation of business men in education to believe that a school or college is first and foremost a building". Her observation of the work of Christian denominations on the prairie led her to the belief that the Anglican, next to the French Roman Catholic missionary, was most successful in reaching the remote and isolated settlers.

An Expensive Experiment: The Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario. By Reginald Pelham Bolton. New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1913. Pp. 281.

It is singular that an experiment in state intervention so notable as the work of the Ontario Hydro-Electric Commission has been the subject of so little thorough study. Mr. Bolton, a New York civil engineer, has been the first to attempt a record and appraisal on an adequate scale. His work is biassed but able, and will repay careful reading. His interest in the subject arose out of a proposal by the Conservation Commission of New York State to follow Ontario's example. On behalf of a Committee of the State Legislature, Mr. Bolton investigated the workings of the Ontario Commission with the result that a strongly adverse report was made. These findings have been expanded into the present book.

In the earlier chapters the author discusses the general question of the advisability of seeking power by hydro-electric development. He notes several considerations apt to be overlooked by enthusiastic advocates. That power is a small element in the total cost of production of most industries, and that hydro-electric power is not necessarily cheaper than power derived from other sources, are obvious but often overlooked facts. That where it is advisable to develop hydro-electric power it is more economical to utilize it for selected industries with continuous use and a high load factor, situated near the point of development, rather than for miscellaneous manufacturing establishments at long distances, is a more controversial contention, but well buttressed by the author's arguments. Least convincing is his argument that from the point of view of profit the commercial utilization of water power is often less advisable than the utilization of the scenic qualities, merely on the ground that the money spent by tourists may exceed the saving in using hydro-electric rather than steam or other power.

Mr. Bolton next studies the Ontario experiment, in which a provincial commission acts as middleman between power-developing companies and municipalities in the purchase and transmission of electric power. After tracing the origin and growth of the movement, he examines the results of operations during six years. High praise is given to the technical methods followed; in design and construction the Niagara transmission line is judged to be the finest hitherto put in service. But here praise ends. First Mr. Bolton condemns the policy of government competition with private enterprise, urging that government regulation would have been fairer, cheaper and more adequate. Next he criticizes the general financial policy and its results. The rates charged for power in 1912 are shown to be insufficient to meet the expenditures of the provincial Commission, the fixed charges (taken to consist of interest at 4 per cent., sinking fund at 1.8 and depreciation at 5 per cent.), the purchase price of power, and the cost of operation and maintenance. The

resulting deficits, he declares, must be met either by higher charges to the public for street lighting or ultimately by advances from the treasury. Finally, he condemns many points of detail in the Commission's policy—the arbitrary apportionment of fixed charges to the different municipalities, the unfair advantage secured by Toronto as a result, the undue reduction of lighting rates to domestic consumers.

These criticisms are shrewdly and forcibly supported. They were, however, written in 1913, and since then much water has run under the bridges, or rather through the penstocks, and time has disproved some of Mr. Bolton's forebodings. He did not allow sufficiently for the great increase in consumption, which has reduced the burden of the overhead charges. It is not fair to charge to the existing system the whole expenditure of the provincial Commission, as a large part of this is incurred for general provincial purposes. The author does not make adequate recognition of the vision and public spirit of the men behind the movement; yet he has made out a case for exact study of facts instead of sweeping generalities about the wizardry of electrical energy, for greater financial publicity, and for further consideration of the problems of sinking-fund and depreciation charges.

The Canadian Iron and Steel Industry: A Study in the Economic History of a Protected Industry. By W. J. A. Donald. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915. Pp. xvi, 376.

In this book, which appears in the Hart, Schaffner and Marx series of prize economic essays, Mr. Donald attempts a work which needed doing, and does it well. He has made important contributions both to the economic history of Canada, and to the discussion of the undying tariff problem. The work is the first thorough-going study of the development of a special branch of Canadian industry from the earliest beginnings down to the present, and at the same time it makes an analysis of the effect of protection in a concrete instance which is a refreshing change from the generalities

that have too often done duty with politicians and historians alike.

Mr. Donald begins by sketching the economic background, tracing in broad outline the stages in the development of Canadian industry, and surveying the natural resources available for the iron and steel industry. In the second part we are shown the early struggles of the industry, from the small beginnings at St. Maurice Forges and Nictaux and Normandale until 1879. The causes of the slow growth in this period are set forth; with ore, fuel, capital, skill, market and transportation facilities all lacking or limited, the result is not surprising. The third part covers the period from 1879 to 1897. The growth of the industry and the changes in tariff policy during this time are alike recorded. The author concludes that protection did not materially aid the primary industry in this period, but that it did aid the finishing industry, though at burdensome cost. The fourth part deals with the important period from 1897 to 1914. Separate chapters summarize the tariff and bounty legislation of these years, and present the remarkable expansion of the industry. Each important iron and steel centre and interest is studied in detail. An interesting analysis is made of the combination movement, the motive for which, aside from stock market considerations, is shown to have been the desire for integration, for a self-sufficient industry covering the whole field from raw material to finished product. The causes of this expansion are reviewed—the opening up of new natural resources, the expansion of the domestic market, the abundant flood of capital, and other factors. The difficulty of determining what part was played in this development by tariff and bounty aid is frankly recognized, and the conclusions of the author are marked by caution and discrimination. In general, he concludes that the primary industry developed because of favourable industrial conditions rather than because of protection, and, in the case of the finishing industry, in certain instances protection is shown to have hastened, and in others to have hampered, progress. Appendices give useful summaries of the pro-

duction of iron and steel in Canada, the imports and exports, the rates of bounty and duty, and trade amalgamations. An exhaustive and well classified bibliography and an adequate index round off the work.

Mr. Donald has done his work well. The only adverse criticism that suggests itself, aside from rare slips of the pen such as "J. A." for "S. J." McLean (p. 84), and "Mr. Graham" for "Mr. Graham Fraser" (p. 203), is the degree of repetition into which the author has been led by his desire for thoroughness. The book is well documented, accurate, and judiciously impartial without being colourless. It is throughout a credit to Canadian scholarship, and it is to be hoped that it will be only the first of a series of similar studies.

Mr. H. Percy Scott's little book *The New Slavery* (London: Fisher Unwin; pp. 190) is a contribution to the vexed question of the cost of living. The author believes that, omitting minor factors, "the grand cause of this extraordinary phenomenon is the non-enforcement of section 498 of the Criminal Code of Canada"—the section which sums up the old common law provisions against combination in restraint of trade. The treatment has a passing interest, but can hardly be said to advance our knowledge of the complicated question. A large part of the work is made up of miscellaneous quotations from newspapers and magazines. Mr. Scott's own comments are often shrewd and whimsical, but assertion usually takes the place of proved fact, and systematic investigation and balanced conclusion are conspicuously lacking.

Modern Business. Canadian Edition; A Series of Eighteen Texts Especially Prepared for the Alexander Hamilton Institute Course in Accounts, Finance, and Management. Edited by Joseph French Johnson. Twelve volumes. New York: The Alexander Hamilton Institute, 1913-14.

This series of texts has been prepared for the use of correspondence students who are specialists in few if any

fields of economic thought or economic activity. Most of the texts are, therefore, necessarily and properly elementary. Each volume contains an appended list of questions on the subjects of study in the book. It must be admitted that, for the most part, the texts lend themselves to the correspondence purpose rather than to class room use.

Volume i on Applied Economics, prepared by Professor Mavor, presents the fundamental economic principles, but probably no other volume in the series reflects the "writing down" process more. It has the merit of illustrating principles by reference to Canadian conditions. Consequently we find brief discussions of the cultivation of wheat, agricultural credit, gold and iron mining, the climate, trade unionism, land policy, provincial and local taxation, municipal enterprise and social legislation in Canada. While principles receive less attention than the discussion of conditions, yet it is, nevertheless, a useful book for the layman who wishes to study the principles underlying Canadian economic life.

Many of the other volumes are simply the volumes of the American edition revised for the use of the Canadian student. This is especially true of Volume ii on "Organisation and Management", the sections on "Selling" and "Credits" in Volume iii, Volume iv on "Advertising and Business Correspondence", Volume v on "Accounting Practice", and Volume xi on "Auditing and Cost Accounts".

Other volumes contain chapters on Canadian phases of the subject, written by Canadian authorities. Volume vi on "Corporation Finance", one of the best books in the series, contains two valuable chapters by Mr. Fred W. Field of the *Monetary Times* on "The Selling of Canadian Securities" and on "Canadian Reorganisations" together with sections on "Bank Loans to Corporations", "Equipment Bonds for Canadian Railways", "Canadian Consolidations", "Manipulation in Canada" and on "Business Failures in Canada". Volume x on "Insurance and Real Estate" contains a brief chapter on "Fire Insurance in Canada" by the same writer. Volume vii on "Money and Banking" has been partly revised by W. W. Swanson with the addition of chapters on

"The History of the Canadian Monetary System", on "The Canadian Banking System", on "Canadian Banking Problems" and on "The Banks and the Government". Of these the first two contain nothing original, but the last two give very satisfactory discussions of several important banking problems. Volume ix on "Investment and Speculation" was revised by Fred W. Field. The book contains valuable chapters on Canadian stock exchanges, and on Canadian federal, provincial, municipal, railroad, public service, industrial and mining securities. Mr. Field has also contributed valuable discussions to the chapters on "Panics and Depressions" and on "Tests of Financial Conditions". This volume is particularly valuable to investors in Canadian securities since it not only presents the principles of investment but also applies the principles to Canadian conditions.

The other volumes or sections are distinctly Canadian in their subject matter and have been written by highly competent Canadians. Part iii of Volume iii, a treatise on "Traffic" by Mr. S. J. McLean of the Board of Railway Commissioners, is the first systematic treatment of this very important subject. Probably no better authority could have been chosen to deal with it. Mr. McLean gives thorough consideration to Canadian freight classification and to Canadian freight, express, and passenger rates. Not only does he describe the system as it exists but he also discusses the principles underlying practice together with the special problems involved. Inland water transportation and ocean transportation receive careful treatment in the two concluding chapters. The average business man will find in this volume a presentation of facts and principles formerly available only by consulting the offices of the Board at Ottawa or the offices of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association or of the Toronto Board of Trade.

Parts i and ii of Volume viii deal with "Banking Principles" and "Banking Practice" and are the work of Mr. E. L. Stewart Patterson of the Canadian Bank of Commerce. Thirty pages of Part i deal with the Canadian Bank Act, not merely by paraphrasing the Act but by explaining

the principles that lie behind its various sections. Thirty more pages treat of the note issue system and the branch bank system, while the last thirty pages discuss the analysis of a bank statement. Part ii on Banking Practice deals particularly with the administration of banks, inspection, accounting, and, what is most important, the details of administration incident to the lending of the bank's money. This last section taken in conjunction with Part i comprises the best treatise on the business of Canadian banks that now exists.

Volume xii on "Commercial Law" was prepared by Mr. Walter S. Johnson, a member of the Montreal Bar and special lecturer at McGill University. It is a clear and simple exposition of the common law together with the more important statutory modifications, treated not as a text for a lawyer, but as a reference book for business men, and every business man should find it an interesting and useful volume.

W. J. A. DONALD

The Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada. By Frederick H. Abbott. (Report of an investigation made in 1914 under the direction of the Board of Indian Commissioners.) Washington, 1915. Pp. 148.

This report was made by direction of the Board of Indian Commissioners for the United States, of which the author was at that time Secretary. The task of making an investigation into the methods of managing Indian affairs in Canada could not have fallen into more competent hands. Mr. Abbott had a somewhat lengthy experience in the Indian affairs of the United States as Assistant Indian Commissioner, and, later, as Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners. Apart from this special experience he has the ability to grasp a given situation and his power of clear statement is exceptional. There is nothing in Canada to correspond with the Board of Indian Commissioners of the United States. It is a Board constituted by Act of Congress;

the twelve members are appointed by the President. They are supposed to be men either distinguished for their philanthropy, or specially interested in the Indian problem. They serve without salary and Congress appropriates $10,000 for the payment of expenses. The Commission has power to investigate Indian administration and to report to the Secretary of the Interior. The Commissioners have no administrative functions.

Mr. Abbott spent two months in Canada visiting Indian reserves and schools, and he became, to quote his own language, "profoundly convinced that Canada's Indian policy contains much that is immeasurably superior to our own, much that [it] is not too late for us to imitate to advantage". Mr. Abbott found some things specially worthy of approbation in comparison with conditions in his own country: the compendious form of the law relating to Indians; the advantage of association with the Churches in the work of Indian education; the Canadian method of dealing summarily with traffic in intoxicants; and the spirit of conservatism and caution which has prevented Canada from rushing into dubious experiments with the social relations of the Indians. He recognizes also the value of the Canadian legal definition of the term "Indian", which is non-existent in the United States. There persons who may claim any degree of Indian blood may be classed as Indians, and almost every State has its special laws, which establish the status of the natives. In Canada the Indian descent is through the male line and while there may be mixed blood on an Indian Reserve it comes from intermarriage of male Indians with white women or half-breeds. The progeny of a white man and an Indian woman are not considered Indians. This simplifies the problem, as persons who do not come within the legal definition are considered as ordinary citizens of the country. Numbers of persons of mixed blood, who are popularly called métis or half-breeds, receive no attention from the Indian Department, although they secured grants of land or money. Mr. Abbott finds that these persons are usually not so well off as the Indians. It is note-

worthy that, since Mr. Abbott's report, several influential associations in the United States, interested in the welfare of the aborigines, have asked the United States Government to establish a legal definition of the term "Indian".

Mr. Abbott seems to have been particularly interested in the progress of Canadian Indians who have been longest in close association with civilization, such as the Indians of the Six Nation Reserve, Caughnawaga and Pierreville, and he comments on the admirable results of the Canadian policy which has allowed a measure of self-government to the tribes without throwing them absolutely upon their own resources.

One point on which Mr. Abbott is critical is the policy of withholding enfranchisement from the Indians. He says: "It is utterly incomprehensible to me that the right of franchise has been withheld by the Canadian government thus long from the Indians of eastern Canada, and from many in the west, who are undoubtedly as well qualified to exercise it as a majority of the white citizens". It is doubtful however whether there are many Indians in Canada who are now in a position to administer prudently even their own affairs although there are undoubtedly a certain number. In the United States, as Mr. Abbott points out, citizenship was forced upon the Indian before he was ready for the obligation, and the result, as seen in the Oklahoma experiment, has been most disastrous.

By comparison with the United States methods, Mr. Abbott found the Indian administration of Canada admirably free from "red tape" or foolish administrative restrictions.

Many of the most interesting paragraphs in the report deal with Indian education. The residential schools Mr. Abbott found not so well equipped as like schools in the United States, but he considered the atmosphere more home-like, and he is strongly in favour of co-operation between the Government and the Churches in educating and christianizing the Indians. In this he runs counter to the present policy of his own country, where the Government some time ago secularized the Indian schools.

No doubt improvements are possible in Canadian methods of administering Indian affairs, and while the service would be benefited by a greater public interest and by more generous expenditure in some directions, Canada may be congratulated on her treatment of the native races. It may be said that her success with the Indians has arisen from the scrupulosity with which all promises have been met, and bargains and treaties maintained. There may have been instances of bad faith but these are hardly discoverable in the general mass of redeemed pledges, and the Indian has come to understand that when a Government officer makes him a promise it will be fulfilled.

The *Minutes of Evidence on Migration* taken by the Royal Commission on the Natural Resources, Trade, and Legislation of Certain Portions of His Majesty's Dominions (London, 1912) contain very important statements of the conditions of emigration from England and of immigration to Canada as well as to other colonies. The evidence is presented in the usual form but the volume at hand (Cd 6516) contains no conclusions of the commission. It does however contain a number of very important statements of opinions of various bodies and persons thoroughly qualified to speak, together with a detailed index of all the subjects discussed in the 250 pages of evidence. The document is therefore a valuable and useable source of information on the general subject of migration to Canada.

Professor Skelton's paper on *Federal Finance* (Bulletin No. 16 of the Departments of History and Political and Economic Science in Queen's University; pp. 34) is as satisfactory a treatment of the fiscal problem of the Dominion as could well be attempted in so brief a space. After laying stress on the fact that the Canadian taxpayer's burden is already heavier than the burden of citizens of other important countries, including Great Britain, Mr. Skelton recalls briefly the leading facts as to federal revenue and expenditure. The fact that revenue from imports has fallen necessi-

tates a reconsideration of the methods of balancing current revenues with current expenditures. The author believes that while some reduction might be made in expenditures, yet it cannot be hoped that much will be saved and there will be increases of expenditure in some directions. New revenue can come only from taxation. Taxes on expenditures can scarcely be expected to produce much more than at present and moreover the returns fluctuate. Taxes on property would probably require an independent assessment and an administrative system. A land value tax would be difficult to assess and it would be some years before it would yield much revenue. A succession duty has much to recommend it. Taxes on income receive considerable attention. While Mr. Skelton considers both the favourable and the difficult features, he does not offer a definite conclusion; but he succeeds in leaving the impression that the adoption of the income tax should be considered.

Mr. W. J. A. Donald discusses *Canadian financial problems* in the *Journal of Political Economy* (October, pp. 753-90). The financial position of Canada has changed in the year or two prior to the outbreak of the war. The era of construction, or possibly the first era of construction, had come to an end. Her borrowings were less, and a favourable balance of trade was necessary in order that the interest on those borrowings should be paid. The fiscal problem consisted in the consequent shrinking of imports and customs collected upon them. Mr. Donald considers that new taxation must have been imposed in any case to maintain the necessary government revenue. The effect of the war has been to relieve the situation, increasing Canada's imports, in consequence of the new war demand for an industrial output, and enhancing the value of her agricultural products. The budgets of August, 1914, and February, 1915, are examined and criticized and some suggestions made as to probable course of taxation within the next few years.

The paper, *Experiments with the Single Tax in Western Canada* (pp. 18), by Mr. F. C. Wade, read before the Eighth Annual Conference on Taxation, under the auspices of the National Tax Association at Denver in 1914, is a very effective attack on the single tax doctrine. The author admits that as the exemptions on improvements were increased the prosperity of western cities, as shown by building permits, also increased—until 1913 and 1914 when there was a very sudden reversal of form. If the argument that prosperity had followed exemption proves the excellency of the single tax, surely adversity proves the opposite. He shows that permits did not fall off so rapidly in eastern cities. The argument that single tax forces land into productive use is challenged on the ground that over-building is a temporary stimulus and bad for a city in the long run. The author's analysis of the relative values of the land and improvements owned by poor and rich men shows that the burden falls most heavily on the poor man. Moreover he proves to his own satisfaction that the increase in values of lands is not the only kind of community-made value. The paper however contains no constructive suggestion. It admits by implication that taxes may force property into productive use and that there are community-made values. Why should not the author devote his conspicuous ability to framing some satisfactory system of taxation?

Dean Adams' presidential address before the Royal Society of Canada in 1914 on *The National Domain in Canada and its Proper Conservation* (pp. xli-lxxiv) is a masterly summary of the problem and need of conservation. The paper emphasizes the greatness of Canada's heritage in area, in forms of government, in freedom from constant danger of invasion, and in the protection of a great Empire. The population is of a relatively high quality, and the somewhat bracing climate has its advantages. But while Canada is blessed with great natural resources, "each and all of them show signs of serious depletion". Conservation is therefore of the greatest moment for the future of the country and if we

take vigorous action at once these can be conserved, cultivated, and not only made to yield a higher annual return than at present but also increased in value year by year. They can be handed on by each generation to the succeeding one in a better and more productive condition than that in which it received them. The paper is an admirable summary of the situation respecting the need and possibilities of conservation in Canada, and has been published as well by the Commission of Conservation.

Railroad Construction and National Prosperity: an Historic Parallel, a paper read by Professor Adam Shortt before the Royal Society of Canada (Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., series iii, vol. viii, sect. ii, pp. 295-308) is an excellent comparison of conditions during the fifties with conditions during the last decade and a half. Apart from names and figures, the story of railway promotion and building, of prospective gains in real estate speculation, of the guarantee of railway securities, of the increase of municipal indebtedness, of the increase in the price of articles produced in Canada, in wages and in rents during the fifties, might be the record of either period. The paper tells too of the conditions of depression that began in 1856 and suggests that what had already begun in 1914 was, barring the effects of certain economic factors, inevitable.

V. ARCHAEOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

The Beothucks or Red Indians; the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Newfoundland. By James P. Howley. Cambridge: University Press, 1915. Pp. xx, 348.

Mr. James P. Howley, the well known geologist of Newfoundland, has put together most of the existing data, from the original sources, about the extinct Beothucks, and seems almost to have exhausted the literature of the subject. Necessarily a large portion of the book consists of quotations from both printed and manuscript records, beginning with the meagre accounts of the Cabots in 1497. Many of these quotations, which are arranged in chronological order but are otherwise disconnected, are enlarged by the addition of comments by the author. Mr. Howley's personal knowledge of Newfoundland, derived from many years' residence and much geological exploration in the island makes his scientific and topographical comments exceedingly valuable. Yet the book consists so largely of quotations and reprints that what is actually contributed by Mr. Howley amounts only to some 86 pages in a total of 364, or about one quarter of the volume. The lack of proper subdivision into chapters or sections, except in the first third of the book, is a serious defect; nevertheless we must be grateful to the author for having brought together into a single volume practically all that is known about the Beothucks.

The abundance of Beothuck fences to trap deer, extending at least thirty miles along the banks of the river Exploits from Red Indian Lake downward, has led later writers to believe that at one time the race must have numbered many hundreds to have been able to keep up the fences. The introduction of firearms in the eighteenth century gave the Micmac intruders an advantage over the Beothucks; before that time the Beothucks had been invincible. They encountered other enemies on the sea-coast in summer when

the white fishermen and trappers also attacked them. Governors of the island became aroused to a sense of these anomalous relations with the natives, and issued proclamations or otherwise interested themselves to put an end to the inhuman cruelties perpetrated on the Beothucks, carrying the agitation for reform to such an extent that it may be said to have become a public question in the island.

At length in 1768 the civil authorities in the colony sent out an expedition to investigate. But it was too late, even for investigation. The Beothucks had ceased to exist as a people before this and subsequent expeditions could learn much about them. The story of our vaunted civilization blotting a whole tribe out of existence, Mr. Howley concludes, "is a dark page in the history of British colonization in America". Chased and driven back by the Micmacs on the one hand and by the white fishermen and trappers on the other, they eked out a miserable existence in diminishing numbers. An exchange of furs for goods of British manufacture was at least usual everywhere except here. On the best evidence it appears that the white colonists held no intercourse with these Indians except to plunder, ill-treat and murder them, and this at a time when the British Parliament was manifesting so much anxiety for the protection and welfare of Africans who were outside the territory of any British colony. With the hand of all men against them, the Beothucks could not be conciliated when at last the officials became minded to treat them humanely. There was no attempt to make a treaty with the Beothucks, as Penn did, or as other British colonizers did in Ontario and the western parts of Canada.

The various measures taken for conciliating the Beothucks are fully set forth in the memoirs printed in this book. In one instance the governor had a large painting made in England representing groups of Indians and Europeans in the act of exchanging furs. This picture, which was taken by an officer and company of men to the Indians' place of resort and left there with a small quantity of goods for exchange, does not now appear to be extant, but if the sketch

of it, reproduced from a description by an eyewitness, which forms the frontispiece of the volume, bears any resemblance to the original, the Indians might be excused for avoiding closer acquaintance with the whites.

As soon as persons of humane feelings began to reflect upon what was taking place measures of relief were proposed. But the first cures were worse than the disease. One of the earliest suggestions, as contained in letters and despatches of official policy, was to capture some of the Indians in order to win their confidence, and rewards were actually offered for a living specimen. An instance of how this method worked in practice is given. A young Indian woman was torn from her infant child and husband; the latter was shot while trying to rescue her from the armed gang of white men and died before her eyes; the infant it may be noted died a day or two later, though the mother never knew of its death; she was then abducted as a captive into "civilization" where she fell into a decline and died ten months later. A government expedition returned her corpse to the place where she had been taken alive, and left it along with some trinkets, returning homeward satisfied with this "appearance of amity which they had left behind", and which they were confident would "tend to convince the natives of our friendly intentions". The story of this capture, told in official despatches and semi-official correspondence, with here and there some words of comment by Mr. Howley, who has dug up the chain of evidence from colonial archives and almost forgotten files, is not unlike the grim Spanish records of Mexico and Peru. This took place as late as 1819.

In 1823, colonists captured three more Beothucks, an old woman and her two daughters. One of them was far gone in consumption and the health of the other two was very precarious after capture. The Governor assigned them a room in the Court House at St. John's. A doctor recommended bleeding for the almost bloodless sick woman, in keeping with the strange medical fashion of the age, but when the lancet was brought near her arm for the purpose, all three women got into a state of fury and the doctor had to

desist. The officials soon afterward left them at the river Exploits with some provisions, which were soon exhausted, and not finding any of their tribe the women wandered down the river and back to the English settlement where two of them died shortly afterward. The young woman who was left is believed to have been the last survivor of her race.

No name stands out so prominently as that of William Epps Cormack in the final attempts to discover the Beothucks, if any were left, and to reconcile them to the whites. Indignant at the indifference of the local government of Newfoundland to take steps for the discovery and conciliation of the remnant, if it existed, Cormack founded the Beothuck Institution at St. John's, in 1827. Its promoters collected money, the object of which was to send search expeditions for survivors of the Beothucks; these, however, failed to find any of the tribe. The institution also educated and supported Nancy, the last survivor (p. 201). Cormack, who had made a journey across Newfoundland in 1822, and another in 1827, held the opinion that the Beothucks were of Norse origin through some colony of the early Norwegian voyagers of the tenth century, of which they were the remains.

Mr. Howley reproduces and describes the ten drawings made by Nancy, last of her race, for Cormack. These drawings are interesting studies in Indian representative art, and will doubtless be better appreciated as their value is better known and understood. The book also contains short biographies of Cormack and of Captain David Buchan, R.N., both of whom led expeditions in search of Beothucks in a scientific and humane spirit. It even includes various reminiscences of the Beothucks current amongst the fisher folk and other residents.

Notwithstanding many typographical and some literary defects, the book is a valuable addition to scientific literature. The vocabulary obtained by Cormack from Nancy, the last of her race, is sufficient to show that the Beothuck language was distinct from others in North America. Professor A. S. Gatschet, who devoted five or six years to the study of the

Beothuck language, and wrote three papers on it, all of which are here reprinted (pp. 302-322), asserts that the known words of the language amount to some 480 vocables, all badly transcribed in the original records (p. 299).

Other anthropological facts abound; thus, there are records in early writers of persons amongst the Beothucks having light hair and complexion, yet Mr. Howley disputes the accuracy of these statements, preferring to think that some artificial colouring was used. Sir Daniel Wilson in his *Prehistoric Man* (vol. 2, p. 201) mentions a case of an Indian on the St. Lawrence below Quebec having a red or reddish-brown complexion, and other cases are not unknown amongst northern tribes on this continent, the latest recorded being a whole band of red-haired Eskimo found by Mr. Stefansson.

Mr. Howley's treatment of the unique archaeology of Newfoundland is a valuable contribution; he assumes all relics to be Beothuck except in a few cases. Tobacco pipes are absent, and it is stated that the Beothucks, in striking contrast with other American tribes, did not use narcotics. One stone pipe (of the bottle-stopper type) is shown, but it is a type common amongst the Micmacs, which Mr. Howley omits to point out, so this specimen must have been intrusive and not Beothuck. There were no pottery fragments of clay amongst their relics, as they did not practise the plastic art. Their cooking pots were of stone, and several steatite or soapstone pots, like those of the Eskimo, are figured in the plates. There is a great variety of bone tools and carved bone ornaments, many of them of a swallow-tailed form, and some tridents of the same substance. Many of the celts taper toward the top as do so many of those found in northwestern Europe. Gouges are as numerous as celts, and recall their abundance in Scandinavian countries. In their relics, therefore, if not in their language, there is a close resemblance between the Beothucks and the early inhabitants of northwestern Europe, although Mr. Howley does not emphasize the resemblances, but rather depreciates them.

A few errors may be noted, not to bring any discredit upon the book, but to show the regrettable limitations under

which the author carried on his valuable studies. Thus copies of the Cabot map are not all lost as he says on page 2; one exists in the National Library at Paris bearing date 1544, and a photo-lithograph of it was printed in the Report on Canadian Archives for 1897, accompanied by a note upon it by Dr. S. E. Dawson, a recognized authority on the subject at the time. A facsimile of the North American portion of the map on a larger scale had also appeared in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* (1886-89). From a reference, however, which Mr. Howley makes, on page 298, to "the supposed Cabot map", we may infer that he knew of these reprints but did not credit the original as having been Cabot's; yet there can be no question as to its identity. The term *Fraxinus Americana* which he applies to the maple, in a footnote on page 33, properly denotes the white ash. Both trees occur in Newfoundland, and the one referred to is probably the sugar maple (*acer saccharum*), rather than the white ash. The wrong technical name might easily result from some confusion in the process of editing or printing, as the difference between the two would be well known to a geologist. The "Prof. Andrew Wilson, LL.D., F.R.G.S., of the University of Toronto" (p. 298) quoted in connection with the scanty value of language for determining the descent of North American races, we may identify as the late Sir Daniel Wilson. Again, it is singular that in the description of Plate xxv on page 340, some tusks of rodents (apparently of porcupines) are described as those of a pig, an unknown animal to the Beothucks. Cormack states, however, in the quotation on page 167, that the porcupine is not met with in Newfoundland, yet the articles figured bear the closest resemblance to porcupine tusks, and are quite unlike those of swine.

A. F. HUNTER

Northwestern Dénés and Northeastern Asiatics; a Study on the Origin of the former. By Rev. A. G. Morice. (Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute, Toronto, 4th series, Vol. x, pp. 131-193.)

Essai sur l'origine des Dénés de l'Amérique du Nord. Par A. G. Morice. (*La Nouvelle-France*, January-December, 1915.)

After a long silence, caused mainly by the loss of his library by fire about ten years ago, the name of the Rev. Father Morice appears once more in the list of contributors to the Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute resuming the publication of valuable material on the Dénés with whom he has spent twenty-four years in mission work, and about whom he is well qualified to speak. His exhaustive method of research is a useful example for those whose work is the criticism of material in any enquiry, and would exert a wholesome influence on any study requiring the aid of deductive and historical methods. The bibliography at the end of this monograph enumerates one hundred and sixteen titles mentioned in the text itself, and shows the wide range of the essayist's research and his fitness for the task.

Father Morice begins by reviewing existing literature on the subject, and examines the wide-ranging variety of opinions held by numerous writers, since the discovery of America, as to the origin of its native tribes. He thus devotes considerable space to a question which has always exercised the minds of writers and is still one of the stock problems in ethnology. He then examines the traditions of the Dénés themselves as to their origin, first, the eastern, then the western tribes. He next treats of characteristics exhibited by the Dénés and by Asiatics alike, in their physiology, sociology and technology, the evidence from all of which confirms the author in the belief that "the Déné is a relatively late arrival on the continent of America". The more strictly psychological features (myths, etc.) also furnish evidences of similarity. Altogether, the last seven sections of the monograph represent the more strictly inductive part, while the first five represent the historical part as recorded in the writings of civilized peoples, or traditionally among the Dénés themselves.

Eight full-page portraits illustrate the text, and one cannot view these Indian faces without being impressed

by the fact that the native races beyond the Rockies differ widely in physical type from the aborigines on the east side, and especially from those of the Atlantic seaboard. It may ultimately be proved that the aborigines of America have had various origins, and one of them has probably been discovered by Father Morice. Without a doubt this is one of the most valuable contributions to Canadian anthropology issued during 1915.

The paper just reviewed has appeared also in French in *La Nouvelle-France* as a serial from month to month, but in this French edition the monograph is greatly amplified, and has the advantage of subheadings for the sections, although it lacks the illustrations which appear in the *Transactions* of the Royal Canadian Institute.

Mr. C. M. Barbeau writes on *Les Indiens du Canada depuis la découverte* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Series iii, Vol. viii, Sect. i, pp. 381-397). The subject is so large that the author can only treat it within the assigned limits in what he describes as a short rough sketch. He divides his article into four sections, dealing with the first discovery of the Indians; the brief notices of the early writers and travellers who came in contact with them; the advancement of the Indians in a native civilization, as shown in their social and political institutions, religion and arts; their relations with whites and European civilization; and lastly, the subsequent decadence of their tribes and of their institutions. The paper has merit as a comprehensive sketch of the encyclopaedic sort within small limits.

The Red Indians of the Plains, by the Reverend J. Hines (London: S.P.C.K.; pp. 322) is a book which represents an opportunity lost. Mr. Hines went into the prairie country as a Church of England missionary in 1874, before there was a railway even to Winnipeg, and settled at Sandy Lake Mission, in the Saskatchewan country. The buffalo were plentiful and provided food, wearing apparel and even coverings for the rims of cart wheels. Mr. Hines lived

among the Indians, but he shows no great insight in describing their characters and customs so that his book has not much value for ethnography. Living near Prince Albert he was in the very centre of the Indian rising of 1885 but he misses making his narrative illuminating as to causes and events. When he moved to Pas he was at a more important point but even here he hardly gets away from the routine of his daily duties. Every page of the book shows that he was sincere and zealous. He retired recently when his health broke down. With the opportunities he has had a trained observer could have written a fascinating book. As it is, a few gleanings might be made from it by any one writing an account of the Indians about Prince Albert.

The *Annual Archaeological Report* of the director of the Ontario Museum, Dr. Rowland B. Orr (Toronto, 1914; p. 100), is noteworthy this year, as usual, for the abundance and value of its illustrations. The opening paper deals with the Petuns or Tobacco Nation, and is a compilation of historical facts from the textbooks rather than from new archaeological information. An article on "Lacrosse" is also a compilation of what various authors have said about the game. A paper on "The Pre-Christian Cross" by the Very Reverend W. R. Harris also traverses book literature for light upon the subject, and includes references to what he calls the Swastika cross. Colonel Geo. E. Laidlaw's third paper on "Ontario Effigy Pipes in Stone" has the same aim and method as its two predecessors, the first having appeared in the Ontario Archaeological Report for 1902, and the second in the Report for 1913. This study of stone pipes is referred to at greater length under our review of the reprint of the first paper (see p. 190 of this volume). A short paper on "Certain Ojibwa Myths", also by Colonel Laidlaw, follows. The first two papers in the *Annual Archaeological Report* for 1915 (Toronto; pp. 118), by Dr. Orr, deal with "The Mississaugas" and the "Indian Game of Dice", the latter being a continuation of the series on games. Both articles consist of compilations from the literature of the two subjects dealt with.

In a similar way the next article, a paper on the "Practice of Medicine and Surgery by the Canadian Tribes in Champlain's Time" by the Very Reverend W. R. Harris, is compiled from the existing literature of that period. This article is followed by a "List of Botanical Names and Properties of Plants" mentioned in the text, prepared by the Rev. B. Alfred. Colonel G. E. Laidlaw's fourth paper on "Ontario Effigy Pipes in Stone" continues the investigation so well carried out in the three former papers. An article on "Ojibwa Myths and Tales" by the same writer contains some twenty-nine tales obtained by him from Peter York of the Rama Reserve, in the summer of 1915. An article on "The Fashioning of Flint" by Frank Eames deals in a general way with the subject. New archaeological accessions to the Museum are well illustrated and the more important of them have descriptions. The illustrations throughout both volumes are noteworthy for their excellence and size.

The Highway of the Ottawa, by T. W. Edwin Sowter (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xiii, pp. 42-52), consists chiefly of a series of paragraphs descriptive of the various localities in the vicinity of Ottawa that have archaeological interest, and the special features at each, as flint workshops, camp sites, graves and ossuaries. In addition to citing some researches by others, the author draws largely from his own field experiences, and having mainly an origin of this kind, the article is both original and valuable. Perhaps no person has followed with so much perseverance as Mr. Sowter, for many years, or so expertly, the archaeology of the Ottawa river and Lake Deschenes. Several of his previous articles appeared in the *Ottawa Naturalist.*

The résumé of *The story of the Hurons* by Mr. Hathaway (*Maclean's Magazine*, August) is historical but also includes a brief archaeological sketch. It is mainly derived from the existing records of Jesuit missionary effort, of which it is a summary. It has portraits of Champlain, Fathers Brebeuf

and Lalemant, and a map of Champlain's routes, the occasion calling forth the article having been the tercentenary of the explorer's Ontario journey. An edition of the article in separate form was printed for the Ontario Historical Society.

A short article on *Primitive Fishhooks* by Colonel G. E. Laidlaw (*Rod and Gun in Canada*, May) traverses archaeological literature for bone, horn and metal fishhooks, citing some eleven different accounts of primitive fishhooks, mainly from eastern North America.

A reprint, in pamphlet form, of the same author's first paper on *Ontario effigy pipes in stone* which appeared in the Ontario Archaeological Report for 1902, is a welcome addition to the archaeological literature of Canada for 1915. This paper, with three others on the subject by the same writer published since the issue of the first, represents an effort to extend our knowledge over a new field hitherto for the most part virgin soil. Colonel Laidlaw uses the comparative method in the second, third and fourth papers of the series, and extends his researches generally to the whole territory once occupied by the Huron-Iroquois group of tribes, who appear to have excelled in pipe art. So far as Ontario is concerned, the specimens are mainly from the Huron, Petun and Neutral territories, and from Algonquin territory adjacent to these three. Heretofore, Mr. J. D. McGuire of the Washington Bureau had dealt with the subject of pipes perhaps more than any other person, touching upon the territory of the Huron-Iroquois only as a branch of the wider enquiry as to the continent. But unfortunately Mr. McGuire worked in the field under the colour of the theory that the art displayed by the aborigines was chiefly "suggestion" from the articles in use amongst the early French traders. Fortunately, Colonel Laidlaw is not prepossessed by this theory or by any other, but from personal observation he works up the facts themselves on their own

merits; and his work is all the more valuable to science on this account.

Archaeological Notes on Victoria County, Ont., by Colonel G. E. Laidlaw (*The Archaeological Bulletin*, March-April to Sept.-Oct., 1915) summarizes the work of many years. This information had been mostly given in earlier papers by Colonel Laidlaw, published in the Ontario Archaeological Reports and other publications, sometimes in general descriptions of particular sites and sometimes in descriptions of special relics. But in the present instance the work is treated exhaustively under classified headings, the sections dealing with the various kinds of relics in a series.

The sixth volume of *Papers and Records* of the Wentworth Historical Society contains several papers relating to Indians. Mr. Frank Wood describes "Indian Relics and Implements found in and around the city of Hamilton, Ont." The author is an amateur collector, who has spent a considerable portion of his spare time in field work at Hamilton and within a radius of twenty miles of that city. Interspersed with the actual descriptions of relics are numerous personal experiences and general remarks upon his subject. "Indian Place Names," by W. F. Moore, discusses some twenty-five names of which a majority belong to Brant and Wentworth counties, others like 'Temiskaming' and 'Winnipeg' being of more than local interest. Unfortunately some of the meanings given are not those endorsed by the highest authorities on the subject, but the writer of the paper does not claim infallibility; he only contributes his mite to a much discussed topic which has some highly speculative phases. The paper on "The Neutral Nation", by Kirwan Martin, is chiefly historical, but also contains a few remarks of ethnological interest. The historical facts are mainly derived from Parkman. "The Ojibways of North America", by Mary L. Claypole, is founded mainly on Longfellow's Hiawatha, Copway's History, and a few other textbooks of general circulation. The Medicine Men of the Ojibways

had reached the first stage of advance from the mere Shaman, having been specialized into classes. Some slight data about each of the classes (four according to the author) into which the Ojibway "mystery men" are divided give the paper its chief value. A letter by Oscar Main describes an "Indian Ossuary near Sheffield". "Notes on the Indian Burial Mound, foot of Emerald Street, Hamilton," by J. H. Land, is a description by a reliable witness of one of the relics of the earlier mound-building people, now usually classed as Indians but formerly regarded as a distinct people. The mound was situated at Hamilton, within a hundred yards of the bay shore.

In *Science* (N.Y.) of October 1, 1915, Dr. Henri M. Ami of Ottawa notices a paper of scientific value, "Some Notes upon the Discovery of a Prehistoric Human Skeleton in British Columbia" by Charles Hill-Tout, read before Section II at the 34th annual meeting of the Royal Society of Canada held May, 1915. The skeleton described came from near Kamloops, B.C., and the writer of the paper was of the opinion that it places "the prehistoric history of man in western Canada back to the glacial period".

The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization, by Frank G. Speck (*American Anthropologist*, Apr.-June, 1915, Vol. 17, No. 2; pp. 289-305) treats generally of the Algonquin-speaking tribes from Newfoundland to the Mackenzie river, but more particularly of the Timiskaming Band and other tribes eastward to the Micmacs. It deals with the family group as a fundamental social unit among these hunting tribes. The material for the paper *The Eastern Algonkian Wabanaki Confederacy*, by the same author (Ibid. July-September, 1915, Vol. 17, No. 3; pp. 492-508), came from Penobscot sources (especially from Mr. Newell Lyon) and relates to a confederacy which is said to have existed among the tribes of Maine and of the Maritime provinces of Canada. Yet Caughnawaga, near Montreal, is alleged to have been the capital of this Wabanaki con-

federacy—a singular example of how modern railway travel affects our ideas of former Indian relations.

The latest numbers of the Anthropological Series of monographs (Nos. 8 and 9) issued by the Canadian Department of Mines contain two studies by Dr. F. G. Speck on the sociology and folk-lore of tribes on the Ottawa river and its tributaries. In the Introduction to the first of these studies, *Family hunting territories and social life of various Algonkian bands of the Ottawa valley* (Memoir 70), what the author means by Algonquin group is obviously the tribal or political group and not the linguistic stock; otherwise, the Algonquin group is not a subdivision of the Ojibwa, but the reverse. He uses the term "Algonkian" of the language stock, of which there are many dialects or subdivisions, and hence some care is needed to avoid confusion. The author finds that ownership of family hunting territories is characteristic of all the northern tribes of the Algonkian stock (the linguistic group being meant in this case). In the Timagami band of Ojibwa, which appears to be the least mixed, and in which there are only 95 souls, the family hunting divisions and totemic clans exist together, making a dual social-economic organization to which he devotes the third and most important chapter of this monograph. The family names are patronymic, which is evidently due to European influence, and it seems probable that the property rights in hunting-grounds are also copied from European settlers with whom the Indians have been in contact, more or less closely, for three centuries. The author, however, does not even suggest this interpretation of the social phenomena, whatever his personal views may be. If the original social usages had been preserved, or any part of them, a study of this kind might have some value, even if the original had survived in some modified form, but it seems to be a waste of effort to write and print descriptions of adopted European social practices that have replaced the original Indian social forms. The results will doubtless have some value for the statistical and business uses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs,

but their scientific value cannot be very high. All the bands under consideration use paternal descent, and are exogamic, while there is paternal reckoning in both totemic and territorial groups. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that white men's influence is a prominent factor, and the pressing of the bands to the northward owing to European settlement, frequently mentioned, is also significant. The Wi-sa-na, or animal visitant, is a noteworthy feature of this research. There are some useful observations on the Timagami band as to naming, chieftainship with a list of their chiefs (a useful historical addition), marriage, kinship terms, burial, taboos, and dances. The second monograph, *Myths and folk-lore of the Timiskaming Algonquin and Timagami Ojibwa* (Memoir 71) is wholly devoted to folk-lore. There is an Anthropological Series in the Museum Bulletins and another in the Memoirs of the Geological Survey. Both are issued by the same department and have independent numbering, thus duplicating each other, which is confusing.

The Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes. By E. Sapir. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, Vol. ix, section iii, pp. 355-374.)

The Pacific coast tribes which Dr. Sapir considers in his paper presented to the Royal Society of Canada are those grouped under the general names of Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, Nootka, and Coast Salish. He makes a fourfold division of the subject, viz., social groupings according to rank, kinship, local and ceremonial organization. The paper is limited mainly to the first two types of social organization, rank and kinship. The first, that of rank, occupies the foremost place because the west coast Indians differentiate their individuals of the higher ranks to a greater extent than any other tribes in America. This recalls the castes so common in Asiatic countries, to which the west coast tribes are nearest, although Dr. Sapir does not draw any comparisons between continents. The northern tribes of the area under consideration contrast with

the southern in clanship, the former inheriting through the female line alone, with strict exogamy, and their clans (apart from crests) being limited to two, six and four respectively in each of the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian stocks. The portion of the paper on clans and the crest system would have been clearer if the author had given us a concrete example of at least one totem pole to show the combination of crests or "stratified crests" in the making, instead of the abstract data. The paper is of course an outline, and the author is necessarily guided by published information rather than by his own fieldwork, as we also gather from various remarks in the text. Yet one would have liked to see mentioned the large amount of work done, for example, by Dr. Franz Boas on the social organization of the Coast Salish, Kwakiutl-Nootkas and Haidas which entitles his name to appear at least once in connection with conclusions first promulgated by him. The paper is well written notwithstanding its merely general scope, but it is to be regretted that it fails to cite the sources whence important information was obtained, or the authorities with whom some of the fundamental principles brought forward in the text originated. As the mixture of all tribes in blood as well as in culture prevails in the west coast tribes as elsewhere, it is doubtful whether the author places enough emphasis on race or descent as a factor (p. 365), and he speaks of environment as only of partial value. The subject of social organization, when it becomes more fully developed, will doubtless prove as interesting and valuable in connection with the west coast tribes as it does elsewhere.

The reports from the Anthropological Division of the Canadian Geological Survey in 1915 contain various language studies and sociological researches by Dr. Edward Sapir on the Pacific Coast tribes. These are: *A Sketch of the Social Organization of the Nass River Indians* (pp. 30), *Abnormal Types of Speech in Nootka* (No. 5), and *Noun Reduplication in Comox, a Salish Language of Vancouver Island* (No. 6). The fieldwork upon which these language studies has been

based was done in the autumn of 1910 and in the winter of 1913-14, and the author has added many comparative notes on the linguistics of adjacent tribes. Dr. Sapir also contributes a paper on *The Na-Dene Languages* to the *American Anthropologist* (vol. 17, No. 3) in which he presents evidence to show that Athabaskan, Haida and Tlingit are divergent representatives of a common prototype language. The full evidence will appear in an extensive paper to be issued in the Anthropological Series of the Canadian Geological Survey. Important resemblances between these languages had long been pointed out by Boas, Swanton and others, but with some reservations. Dr. Sapir, however, now identifies them beyond all reasonable doubt, as he believes.

Dr. W. F. Ganong continues in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada (series iii, vol. viii, sect. ii, pp. 259-93 and vol. ix, pp. 375-488) his *Organization of the Scientific Investigation of the Indian Place-nomenclature of the Maritime Provinces of Canada*. The method which he has adopted in these fourth and fifth papers is identical with that of the three former papers—a typical word in general use is examined, and then other Acadian place-names having the same root word. The subject is treated exhaustively, the thirty-five pages of the fourth paper being devoted to the few names of Canso, Sevogle, and Petitcodiac, and the collateral terms—Bedeque, Baddeck, Pokwagamoos, Pugwash and Pocologan. The entire fifth paper is occupied by the word Acadia and its variants, including the frequent suffix "quoddy".

In the outlying portions of the Province of Quebec, the inhabitants still preserve many traditions and stories brought by their ancestors from France, in some cases nearly two and a half centuries ago. Mr. C. M. Barbeau gives an interesting collection of these stories, with a discussion of them, in his paper *Le folklore canadien-français* in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada (ser. iii, vol. ix, sect. i, pp. 449-81). He divides them into the following classes: pagan

stories, fables, fantastic stories where the marvellous is imitated or parodied, semi-christian legends, and stories or jokes from the middle ages or of modern times. The author gives a number of examples of each class.

The three *Wyandot tales* recorded in the *Journal of American Folk-lore* (vol. xxviii) by Mr. C. M. Barbeau were collected in 1912-13 at Wyandotte, Oklahoma, from the Wyandot tribal remnant. Taken with other articles previously issued on Wyandot folk-lore by the same author, this one continues a valuable series on the subject.

In the course of his sociological investigations amongst the northeastern Algonquin-speaking tribes, Dr. Frank G. Speck paid attention to the folk-lore, and a series of papers in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* (vol. xxviii) is part of the result. The papers are entitled *Penobscot Tales* (pp. 52-8), *Some Micmac tales from Cape Breton Island* (pp. 59-69), and *Some Naskapi myths from Little Whale river* (pp. 70-77). Most of the tales in this series are animal stories, which are abundant in bands of the Algonquin-speaking tribes.

A recent technological paper on *The Principle of the Screw in the Technique of the Eskimo*, by Morten P. Porsild (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 1-16), treats of it as an indigenous invention among the Eskimo. The specimens studied are from Greenland, although the author extends his researches to parts of the Arctic coast occupied by other bands of the widespread Eskimo to whom the principle was well known. The paper is illustrated with 3 plates and 7 figures in the text, showing various tools. The principle seems to be fairly common in their handicraft, and nearly all Eskimo screws are left-handed because most of the makers were right-handed. Mr. Porsild inclines to believe that screw-bearing implements were made before the advent of Europeans and that they have been familiar to the Eskimo for unnumbered centuries.

VI. LAW, EDUCATION, ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Canadian Constitution as interpreted by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in its Judgments. Together with a Collection of all the Decisions of the Judicial Committee which deal therewith. By Edward Robert Cameron. Winnipeg: Butterworth & Co., 1915. Pp. xiv, 825.

To collect in one volume the decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council relating to the Canadian Constitution is modestly referred to by the author as the *raison d'être* of the above work. The advantage of having the British North America Act and the judicial interpretations thereof, up to the year of the war, within the covers of a single volume cannot be gainsaid; nor are students of the constitution likely to be ungrateful for the author's analysis of the principles governing the Judicial Committee in the performance of their onerous task of interpretation. Some such guiding light, however necessarily fitful on occasion its radiance, cannot fail to be of assistance to those who attempt to thread the maze of judicial decisions presented by the chronological reprint of the cases themselves, and unfamiliar footsteps are further directed by references at the cross roads which indicate where earlier judgments, on second or third thoughts, have been reconsidered or modified or even, in rare instances, practically annulled.

It is of abundance rather than short measure that we must complain. Not content with a substantial *entrée* in the shape of this analysis, and a formidable *pièce de résistance* in the reprint of the cases themselves, our host has set before us *hors d'oeuvres*, in the form of a treatise on colonial government and imperial control, of such proportions that we fear it may serve to dull rather than whet the appetite. It is with this portion of the *menu* that our own digestive powers have been most seriously tried.

Imperial control over colonial government is dealt with under four heads. The first two, "Municipal Institutions" and "The Governor as a Branch of the Legislature", are touched on briefly to show the attainment of complete self-government by the Canadian colonies. Under the third head the history of the formation of the Canadian courts is traced with the same object in view. Here, however, the limitation on complete self-government is found to lie in the appellate jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee and in the exercise of the royal prerogative by the King in Council in granting special leave to appeal to that court. Some dissatisfaction is expressed with the manner in which the Committee has recommended the exercise of the prerogative in cases where the applicant has already failed as appellant before the Supreme Court of Canada, but it is under the fourth head, entitled "Imperial Control through the Prerogative Right of Appeal", that the continued existence of this prerogative is brought under direct attack.

The author's first two propositions are: (*a*) that control over the prerogative of the King in Council of granting special leave to appeal was conferred by the Constitutional Act of 1791 on the provincial legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada; and (*b*) that such control is now in the legislatures of Ontario and Quebec. He suggests also that, as regards the other provinces, this control may be in their respective legislatures, and as regards the Supreme Court of Canada, in the Dominion Parliament.

We do not believe that the legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada ever had the control contended for, but, if they had, by what mysterious process was it transferred from them to the legislatures of Ontario and Quebec? If it exists now at all, must we not find it within the enumerations of Section 92 of the British North America Act? It will not do to assume that because such power was possessed unexercised in the one case, it is possessed at all in the other, and then to suggest that being possessed by two provinces it is possessed by all. We can find no satisfactory answer to these questions, which with others suggested or put forward

in this treatise could not be adequately dealt with in the space allotted to them by the author.

The whole discussion as to the powers of the provincial legislature before Confederation, in the light of the Imperial Act 7 and 8 Victoria, cap. 69, is of little more than historic interest. This Act declares the competency of the Crown with the advice of the Privy Council to provide for the admission of any appeals from any court of justice in any British colony, "although such court shall not be a court of error or a court of appeal" and would, therefore, appear to enable the sovereign to admit an appeal by leave notwithstanding that the function of framing provisions generally on the subject of appeals had been granted to the provincial legislature. We cannot accept the author's view that the purport of this statute is limited so as to exclude provincial Courts of Appeal. He says that the language of the statute viewed in the light of the then conditions does not support "the construction that it confers upon the Judicial Committee power to grant leave of appeal from Courts of Appeal where they exist in the colonies". The wording of the Act is clear, and we can see no sound reason to force us to the grotesque conclusion that while the provincial legislatures have no power to prevent appeals from courts of inferior jurisdiction, they have that power in respect to appeals from provincial Courts of Appeal. Because Parliament may have assumed that the prerogative already existed in respect to Courts of Appeal it does not follow that the general terms of their enactment exclude such courts.

We must confess to having trouble with the author's terminology throughout this section of his work. He fails to draw a clear line between appeals as of right and appeals by way of leave. For instance, he says on page 29:

> "It would follow therefore from this review of the decisions, that in the present provinces of Ontario and Quebec, formerly Upper and Lower Canada, the provincial legislatures under the Constitutional Act of 1791 have power to limit appeals to His Majesty in Council, and where the right of appeal is taken away by such legislation there remains no power in the Judicial Committee to grant leave of appeal."

The conclusion reached does not to us appear to "follow from this review of the decisions"—much less from the

decisions reviewed. "Power to limit appeals" which could otherwise be taken as a right does not inferentially include power to put an end to the exercise of the prerogative. The declaration in a statute that appeals shall be "final" may be apt language to annul the right of appeal but inapt to interfere with the exercise of a prerogative of the Crown.

The distinction between executive and legislative powers has not been sufficiently borne in mind. No "power in the Judicial Committee to grant leave to appeal" ever existed. The function of the Committee is to advise whether or not the prerogative should be exercised in any particular instance. We dwell on what at first sight may appear to be a mere technicality because any departure from the strictest accuracy in the language used is apt to lead to the misconstruction of statutes and the misapplication of authorities.

How misleading such language may be is demonstrated by the statement which appears on page 32:

> "In the case of *Gillett* v. *Lumsden* (1905, A. C., p. 610) the Committee appears to have been of the opinion that the language of the Ontario Act at present was sufficient to prevent leave to appeal being granted in a case which is not within the appealable amount."

In *Gillett* v. *Lumsden* no application for leave was before the Committee. The sole question there was whether or not an appeal as of right had been properly constituted. Gillett did not sally out to seek his adversary nor did he even enter the lists *ex parte* in quest of leave. The prerogative of the Sovereign or the privilege of the subject, as one may choose to regard it, of granting or obtaining leave was left by him unprayed for and unsought. The policy which the Committee may from time to time adopt as to the character of the advice it gives cannot affect the existence of the prerogative, but there are many instances where the Committee, being of opinion that the provincial court was in error in supposing that under provincial legislation no appeal lay as of right, have on application recommended the exercise of the prerogative. It is one thing for the Board to say, as they did here, that the court below must express itself on the question "whether any particular case is appealable or not" before the appellant can proceed as of right,

and quite another to say that any expression is called for from the provincial court as to whether or not the Committee should recommend the granting or the withholding of leave. In this instance at least the author has failed to observe this vital distinction.

Again, "power to regulate appeals" does not necessarily include power "to deprive the King of his power to grant leave to appeal". However, as this proposition rests on the supposition that the provisions of 7 and 8 Victoria, cap. 69, do not apply to provincial Courts of Appeal, as to which we have indicated our disagreement, we will not pause here further than to express the view that such delegation as is involved in the prerogative being exercised in accordance with the advice or discretion of the provincial courts need not entail its abrogation by the King in Council.

When we come to consider the first proposition put forward, viz., that the Constitutional Act of 1791 conferred control over the prerogative on the legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada, we find that the author has recourse to a decision of the Committee dating as far back as 1832, which has been greatly discredited if not completely distroyed by later judgments.

The Constitutional Act of 1791 established the courts of these colonies "subject nevertheless to such further or other provisions as may be made in this behalf by any Act of the Legislative Council and Assembly of either of the said provinces respectively, assented to by His Majesty, his heirs or successors". Further provisions were made by an Act of the legislature of Lower Canada (34 George III 6) which, while declaring that judgments of the Court of Appeal should, with certain exceptions, be final, "any law, custom, usage to the contrary notwithstanding", provided expressly that nothing therein should be construed "to derogate" from certain specified rights of the Crown or "from any other right or prerogative of the Crown whatsoever". In *Culliver* v. *Aylwin* (2 Knapp 72) the Committee held that a derogation of the prerogative of the King in Council had been constitutionally effected by this legislation, and that,

except in cases provided for by the provincial Act, no appeal could be taken to the King in Council by leave or otherwise. This decision was reviewed by the Committee in *Cushing* v. *Dupuy* (5 App. Cas., 409). There it was pointed out that the judgment in *Culliver* v. *Aylwin* was opposed to later decisions of the Board, that the prerogative of the Crown could only be abrogated by express words and that the provincial Act "contains no words which purport to derogate therefrom". In other words, in the judgment in *Culliver* v. *Aylwin* this Act was construed to have done that which it had not only left undone, but that which it had expressly provided that it should not be construed to have done. The Committee did not go further and say that what had not been done could not have been constitutionally done by any other provincial legislation whatsoever, and that the judgment being wrong even in this also there was no health left in it. Nevertheless we should have supposed it had gone far enough to extinguish rather than distinguish this unfortunate decision. May not its disembodied spirit be now left to rest in peace? Without some authority, however, it would be difficult to show that the Constitutional Act transferred control over the prerogative even by implication. Heartlessly therefore does Mr. Cameron invoke this case in support of his proposition that the provincial legislatures had power to abrogate the prerogative by express legislation although they could not do so by implication.

The King in Council has not to say a thing three times to make it true. Once is enough. This fiction in respect to the last guess at truth in a final court of appeal may lead on occasion to embarrassment. Not only mere litigants, whose affairs, or courts of inferior jurisdiction, whose decisions, are controlled in accordance with that last guess, may be subjected to this inconvenience. The august tribunal responsible for the promulgation of that guess has been known on rare provocation to recant. Fortunately, the judges of a final court manage to maintain a considerable control over their utterances both past and present. The vagaries, however eccentric, of any pronouncement in the

past can generally be explained so as to make them harmonize with the requirements of the insistent present and the unfolding future. With words, as Humpty Dumpty explained to Alice, it is always a question who is to be master. Bygone oracles may often be made to mean by interpretation what at the moment it is most convenient they should mean, and words showing any impish tendency to lay down the law can thus be kept in their proper place. If tempted to press unduly upon the attention of the Committee some citation from a former judgment, one may expect to meet with a polite paraphrase of Jack Bunsby's declaration that "the bearing of this observation lies in the application of it", and no slight ingenuity is likely to be displayed in distinguishing the precedent from the facts of the case immediately under review. At rare intervals, however, exigencies arise of so grave a nature as to call for the performance of sacrificial rites entailing on behalf of the Committee an admission of a temporary and transient aberration from infallibility in the remote and abysmal past. *Culliver* v. *Aylwin*, the report of which constitutes an inauspicious commencement to the decisions under review, ranks as a conspicuous example of such a sacrifice.

The main purpose of this summary of colonial and imperial relations is perhaps disclosed in the suggestion that an Imperial Act be passed similar to that contained in the constitution of South Africa, whereby no appeals should be allowed whether by leave or as of right except from the Supreme Court of Canada. It is further suggested that it should rest with the Parliament of Canada to say whether or not there shall be any granting of leave from the Supreme Court and on what terms.

The raising of these important and difficult questions in a brief discussion can lead to no satisfactory result. The answer depends on manifold considerations, most of which are left untouched in this entirely inadequate survey which forms a strange prelude to a symposium composed of the most important labours of the Judicial Committee. The ultimate conclusion reached may depend somewhat on

the confidence felt in the righteousness and wisdom of the judgments delivered by that "tribunal composed", as the author says, "of the most distinguished jurists in England". There can be little doubt as to the calibre of the members of the average Board, although it may not be amiss to say that at one time for a considerable period it was mainly composed, as Lord Morris once pointed out, of "two Irishmen, a Scotchman and a Jew". Something may also depend on the confidence felt in the judgments delivered by the Canadian courts. Until the public and the profession cease to be of the opinion that an unsuccessful litigant should not be deprived of the right to seek redress from the highest court in the Empire, they will be disinclined to regard the granting of leave as an act of unjustifiable imperial control over colonial autonomy. When they have lost complete confidence in the one case or gained it in the other, their attitude to this question may alter. Whether such a change has occurred or is likely to take place in the immediate future, we will not attempt to say, but on the whole we think the author would have shown more discretion if he had confined his thesis to a consideration of the Committee in its relation to constitutional cases only and had made some more fitting acknowledgment of the labours to which his work forms such a magnificent monument.

The magnitude of those labours appears evident when the frame and purpose of the British North America Act are taken into consideration. Here we find set forth within the limits of a short document a complex constitution dealing immediately with five political entities and potentially with many more, and not only with their creation or re-organization, but with the distribution of their executive and legislative powers and the adjustment of their revenues and assets. Matters of the highest importance are dealt with in the briefest terms—a sentence, a phrase, a word disposing of national and sovereign attributes and of a whole system of law and politics. The Act is a bare skeleton awaiting the breath of judicial interpretation to give it life. In places it is not even a complete skeleton. Ingenuity comparable

to that displayed by a naturalist who projects the anatomy of a complete organism from a few bones is called for in order that a living, working system may be developed or constructed from the hints conveyed by each potent phrase or syllable. Over these bones, often with more pugnacity than dignity or statesmanship, the Dominion and the provinces have persistently wrangled. A single letter in a solitary word has been the cause of prolonged debate. Yet despite this microscopic examination of the letter, seldom have the broad issues been obscured, and the Committee on the whole may be said to have brought to their task of vivification not only the penetrating insight of the analytical jurist, but the prescient foresight of the constructive statesman.

There is much truth in Disraeli's observation that "Governments rarely comprehend those prescient minds which anticipate wants posterity cannot always supply". But as statesmen go, the Committee have generally shown a reasonable degree of foresight. Occasionally a weak Board has strayed from the narrow path, back to which at some later period the Committee has had to hack its way, often at some cost to wind and limb. The temptation to strain interpretation so as to prevent the particular abuse of legitimate authority has led sometimes to the sacrifice of national interests in order to save those of the individual. The gnarled branches of a distorted tree have with their withered foliage temporarily obscured the fair view of the extended glade. Those responsible for such intervention must accept part of the blame. As a rule the vision of the Committee has remained clear and penetrating, detailed and comprehensive, and they have been able to render effective the general scheme of the constitution while circumventing particular acts of abuse and injustice.

It is only fair to add that the members of the Committee, as has often been acknowledged by them, have been assisted in the performance of their most difficult functions by the careful judgments, from diverse points of view, of the Canadian judges and by the efforts of the English and Canadian

bar. Lord Herschell, when asked in Ottawa why the trend of the Committee's decisions appeared to be in a direction contrary to those of the Supreme Court of the United States, replied that he could not say unless it was that a Canadian counsel who represented provincial interests had no equal at the English bar. This remark being addressed to a Canadian may have had a flattering element of exaggeration, but the truth therein should not be overlooked. A court at a distance from the environment enveloping the facts of a case must be to a greater extent in the hands of counsel than a court sitting in the colony where the action arises. This disadvantage, occurring where the assistance of counsel on one side or the other is deficient, is more than compensated for, when dealing with constitutional cases at any rate, by a freedom from unconscious bias impossible to a court constituted under the authority of the constitution it is called upon to construe.

In more than one respect the Committee occupies a position no Canadian court could fill. No court within Canada could hold with even hand the balance between the centripetal and centrifugal forces of a federal constitution. The delicate sense necessary to accomplish this constant readjustment of weights and measures, requiring as it does the elimination as far as practicable of the personal equation, can best be attained by a tribunal situated without the workings of the system it is its business to control. A court at Ottawa where the central administration of government is in operation must sooner or later become imbued, however unconsciously, with the Dominion as opposed to the provincial point of view. This tendency has made itself evident in the judgments of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the same drift towards centralization and away from provincial autonomy has shown itself to a lesser degree in the judgments of the majority composing from time to time the Supreme Court of Canada. On the other hand, a court composed for the most part of jurists of world-wide political and judicial experience sitting at London in comparative immunity from these impalpable

governmental influences is manifestly in a more advantageous position. Not only is it possible for such a court to hold the balance even between the provinces and the Dominion, but it is endowed with the authority requisite to give full effect to the recognition of the growth and development of colonial status. A Canadian court, however supreme and inappellable its decrees might be, could not well add by means of interpretation a single cubit to the stature of Canada as contemplated by the framers of its constitution. This could be done alone by a body situated outside the country, occupying a *locus standi* perhaps not dissimilar to that desired by Archimedes when he sought to move the world.

An illustration of the exercise by the Committee of this power is to be found in their judgment in the "Companies Case" (1912 A. C. 571), an extract from which is given fitting prominence at the beginning of the analysis of the constitutional cases at pages 54-55. To appreciate this quotation it should be borne in mind that the powers of the Dominion were there brought under attack by eight provinces on the ground that the subject matter in controversy was *ultra vires* of the Dominion whether or not it was *intra vires* of the provinces. The Committee held that there could be no doubt that under the British North America Act the powers distributed between the Dominion and the provinces covered the whole area of self-government. They thought "it would be subversive of the entire scheme and policy of the Act to assume that any point of internal self-government was withheld from Canada". If the text was silent, it was not to be presumed that the constitution withheld the power altogether. On the contrary, it was to be taken for granted that the power was bestowed unless it was extraneous to the statute or repugnant to its sense, "for whatever belongs to self-government in Canada belongs either to the Dominion or to the provinces within the limits of the Act."

Whatever view Canadians may take as to the action of these provinces (British Columbia refrained from joining in this enterprise), there is little likelihood of their being

dissatisfied with a judgment of a Committee composed of British jurists which to this extent kept the constitution inviolate, and it is obvious that a Canadian court could not have spoken the same words with the authority requisite to make its finding fully effective. Owing to its position in the commonwealth, the Judicial Committee has been able within limits to influence not only the relationship of the provinces to each other and to their immediate central government, but also the external relations of that government with the United Kingdom and the dependencies and federations of the Empire.

The extracts referred to above should be read in the light of the final judgment of "The Companies Case" and that of *Bonanza Creek* v. *The King*, the cabled report of which shows that once again the inevitable tendency of the Supreme Court towards centralization has been corrected by the Committee. In the later case the view is expressed that executive power not conferred by express provision of the British North America Act nor by implication in the grant of legislative power must not necessarily be considered as having been conferred at all.

It remains only to say that the book is well printed and edited, and that there are few printer's errors. On page 28 Note (2) should be changed from page 198 to 253. Towards the end of page 107, Section 91 of the British North America Act should be altered to Section 92.

We regret that as a final blessing the author did not bestow on us a more complete index. Within the shifting currents of judicial interpretation the tiniest minnow may prove of immense importance, and therefore, the net of the index should have been woven of the finest mesh and have been dragged over the widest area.

Education in the Province of Quebec, a pamphlet of 127 pages, issued by the Department of Public Instruction of Quebec in 1914, contains a preface explanatory of the origin of the pamphlet, a review of the geographical and economic conditions and of the educational history of the province, a

longer description of the existing system of education, seven appendices of school statistics and courses of study, and a table of contents. The author of the pamphlet, Dr. G. W. Parmelee, the English Secretary of the Department of Public Instruction, and his collaborator, Mr. J. C. Sutherland, Inspector General of the Protestant Schools of Quebec, are officials of the Department of Public Instruction. They undertook the pamphlet "to provide the answers to a series of questions submitted by the Education Department at London, England, to the Departments of Education throughout the Empire", and also to correct "many inaccurate statements regarding education in Quebec which have appeared in English, Canadian, and United States papers, etc." The pamphlet gives evidence of its origin. It is a description not a criticism. Whether they praise or blame—and they do not seek occasions to do either—the authors are always restrained. The contents are not always arranged in the natural order. School finances are considered under widely separated headings; the consolidation of elementary schools is discussed apart from the elementary schools themselves; technical and agricultural schools and courses of instruction are detached from secondary education and attached, at least in position in the pamphlet, to university instruction. Problems, some of which are not the problems which now press for solution in most modern democracies, are given here a relatively generous amount of space, notably such problems as local control, compulsory attendance, religious instruction, denominationalism in public education, and bilingualism. Notwithstanding the limitations which were forced upon the authors by the nature of their undertaking, the pamphlet serves its purpose well. It is readable. It is comprehensive. And the reader rises from it persuaded that after all Quebec has a well balanced and smoothly running system of education, and that she has worked out fairly satisfactory solutions of those problems of race, language, and religion, which are the despair of educational administrators the world over.

Dr. E. H. Oliver delivered an address on *The Country School in non-English-speaking communities in Saskatchewan* (pp. 18). Dr. Oliver's main point is that the primary object of education in the country schools is to teach the boys and girls to be Canadian citizens, and he urges the compulsory adoption of English as the only language in which teaching in the public schools shall be carried on. In Mennonite schools he found German the only language not only taught but understood, and nothing else taught except the catechism and Bible history. There are French schools, German schools, Doukhobor—communities, no schools. In view of these conditions what is to be the future history of Saskatchewan? Dr. Oliver puts the matter in a very definite way when he says, "Are we to be a homogeneous people on these plains, or are we to repeat the tragic sufferings of polyglot Austria? This question must be solved in our elementary schools. And we must solve it now. A few years and it may be too late".

We noticed last year the first volume of Abbé A. C. Dugas's *Gerbes de Souvenirs* of the Collège Joliette and now we have the second volume (Montreal: Arbour & Dupont, 1914; pp. 403) and more are suggested! The author has travelled widely and has a long chapter on his travels. There are chapters on the study rooms, the societies of the College, reunions of members, the press of the town of Joliette, etc. The rest of the book is taken up with biographical sketches of former students. For the most part unknown to fame are these men, chiefly priests, but they are affectionately remembered. The book gives the discerning reader a real insight into the social life of the province of Quebec. A religious phraseology pervades the volume, such as was common in England in the days of the Puritan, and this language is quite obviously sincere. The Church as seen here has deep roots in the life of the people and the note is one of affection not of command.

Under the title *France et Canada: Dieppe-Québec 1639; Québec-Dieppe 1912* (Transactions of the Royal Society of

Canada, series iii, vol. viii, sect. i, pp. 231-44) the Abbé Auguste Gosselin commemorates the aid rendered by the Sisters of the Hôtel Dieu at Quebec to their parent institution at Dieppe. It will be remembered that the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, seeing the necessity of establishing a convent of nursing sisters in New France, applied to the Augustinian sisters of the Hôtel Dieu at Dieppe to undertake the work, and accordingly three of them were sent to found a community at Quebec. This was in 1639. In 1910 the Superior of the Dieppe institution wrote to the Superior at Quebec complaining that the number of professed sisters had been reduced to such an extent that there were barely enough to carry on the necessary functions of the convent. After some hesitation, due to doubts as to the maintenance of a strict rule at Dieppe, the Superior at Quebec was able in 1912 to send substantial aid in the shape of four professed nuns who had volunteered for the service of the Dieppe establishment, thus requiting the original benefit conferred upon Quebec.

The Reverend Father Hugolin has compiled an *Inventaire des travaux, livres, brochures, feuillets et autres écrits concernant la tempérance publiés par les Pères Franciscains du Canada de 1906 à 1915* (Montreal; pp. 50), which is accompanied, by way of preface, by another brochure, *Les Franciscains et la croisade antialcoolique dans la province de Québec* (Montreal; pp. xxx). The immediate use of the bibliography and introductory summary was for presentation to the General Chapter of the Minorites held at Rome in May 1915. The efforts of the clergy in the province of Quebec have been directed with great energy and enthusiasm in the cause of temperance, and the Franciscan Order has, as this bibliography shows, been most systematic and persistent in the campaign. Pamphlets have been written both in English and in French. A monthly journal called *La Tempérance* has been published, which has twenty-nine thousand subscribers. The general make-up and appearance of the bibliography leaves nothing to be desired except a little more care in the press-work. The "colour" of the pages is

not at all uniform. But in all other respects the work has been admirably carried out.

Mr. David W. Parker's *Guide to the Documents in the Manuscript Room at the Public Archives of Canada* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau; pp. 318) is most useful and timely. Mr. Parker is now in charge of the manuscripts and this is itself a guarantee of efficiency. The *Guide* is divided into two chief parts, "Transcripts from England" and "Transcripts from France", and the excellent Index makes the work of reference easy. The book is printed in such a good form that we must congratulate the Archivist, Dr. Doughty, on his emancipation from the normal style of the blue book.

A paper on *La traduction des noms géographiques*, by Avila Bédard, appears in *Le Parler Français* (February, pp. 263-72). The author's subject is really the translation into English of names originally French, and he criticizes the rule of the Geographic Board of Canada which prescribes that usage is to prevail in cases where both French and English equivalents are found. The author contends that geography is the servant of history and must adhere to the name assigned by history. The difficulty is not removed by this suggestion, because we then have to determine what period of history we are to follow. The history of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century will undoubtedly show French names and little else on the map of what is now Canada, but the history of the later eighteenth and the whole of the nineteenth century will disclose the fact that many of these names assumed an English form or were changed into quite different English names by a predominantly English-speaking population. If we are to revert in every case to the original historic name, by what name should we call the capital of France, or the great rivers of Europe? No theory can prevail against the common sense of the mass of people, and, where most people uniformly use a certain name, the scientific geographer must conform,

whether he approve or not. It is this principle that has governed the Geographic Board in its rules.

The Ontario Department of Education publishes a quarterly *Selected List of Books* recommended for purchase by the public libraries of the province. Part iii of Volume xiv is devoted to *A Brief Bibliography of Canadian History* (pp. 18), which should be a very useful document not only for present use but for future reference. The arrangement under topical headings might be improved by doing away with the distinction between "General histories" and histories of "periods", which leads to some confusion and overlapping. For instance, Lucas's *History of Canada, 1763-1812*, is given under both headings. Some omissions are inevitable, but it is unfortunate that no mention should be made of the Champlain Society, whose editions of earlier historical classics are likely to prove definitive. Public libraries in Canada would find it well worth while to become subscribers. Another remarkable omission is that of all biographies. There are many biographies of Canadian statesmen that are essentially histories of the period in which the subject of the biography lived. Such, for instance, are most of the volumes in the "Makers of Canada" series. These should have been included in any bibliography of Canadian history.

INDEX.

Abbott (Frederick H.): The administration of Indian affairs in Canada, 173.
Aboulin (J. J.): Notes on the Parish of the Assumption, Sandwich, 105.
Adams (F. D.): The national domain in Canada and its proper conservation, 178.
Adams (John Quincy): Writings, 38.
Adams (Thomas): Town planning and the housing problem, 64.
Addresses delivered before the Canadian Club of Montreal, 63.
Albéric (*Father*) and Alexis (*Father*): Les Capucins en Acadie, 69.
Alexander (Philip F.): The north-west and north-east passages, 11.
Alexis (*Father*) and Albéric (*Father*): Les Capucins en Acadie, 69.
Alfred (B.): List of botanical names and properties of plants, 189.
Allen (Edward Frank): Guide to the national parks of America, 157.
Allin (Cephas D.): The British North American league, 104.
Alpine Journal. *See* Munn: A trip up the Whirlpool river.
Alvord (Clarence W.) and Carter (Clarence E.), editors: The critical period 1763-1765, 31.
American Anthropologist.
See Porsild: The principle of the screw in the technique of the Eskimo.
See Sapir: The Na-Dene languages.
See Speck: The eastern Algonkian Wabanaki confederacy.
See Speck: The family hunting band as the basis of Algonkian social organization.
American Geographical Society: Bulletin, 160.
See Fernald: The natural history of ancient Vinland.
See Jobe: Mt. Kitchi.
See Whitbeck: The St. Lawrence river and its part in the making of Canada.
American Historical Association: Annual Report.
See Bayard: Papers.
American Historical Review. *See* McLoughlin: Last letter to the Hudson's Bay Company.
American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology: Journal.
See Riddell: The duel in early Upper Canada.
American Jewish Historical Society: Publications.
See Price (ed.): Proceedings relating to the expulsion of Ezekiel Hart, etc.
See Price (ed.): Unpublished Canadian State papers relating to Benjamin Hart.
Americana. *See* Eaton: Chapters in the history of Halifax.
" *See* Eaton: Rhode Island settlers, etc.
Ami (Henry M.): Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel:—North America vol. I: Canada and Newfoundland, 146.
Ami (Henry M.). *See* Hill-Tout: Some notes upon the discovery of a prehistoric human skeleton.
Archaeological Bulletin. *See* Laidlaw: Archaeological notes on Victoria County.
Armstrong (*Mrs. Walter*): Some Confederation reminiscences of the Hon. Senator Costigan, 63.
Ascher (*Mrs. E.*): Number One Company, Niagara, 107.
Atherton (William Henry): Montreal 1535-1914, 84.
Babcock (William H.): The so-called mythical islands of the Atlantic in mediaeval maps, 9.

Bagley (C. B.), editor: Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House 1833-34, 134.
Barbeau (C. M.): Le folklore canadien-français, 196.
" Les Indiens du Canada, 187.
" Wyandot tales, 197.
Bartlett (G. W.), editor: Diary of Robert Campbell, 69.
Bayard (James A.): Papers, 38.
Bédard (Avila): La traduction des noms géographiques, 213.
Bellerive (Georges): Délégués canadiens-français en Angleterre de 1763 à 1867, 83.
Bellesort (André): Les souvenirs d'un seigneur canadien, 87.
Bilodeau (Ernest): Un Canadien errant, 92.
Black (William Harman): The real United States and Canada pocket guide-book, 155.
Blake (W. H.): Brown waters and other sketches, 89.
Blegen (Theodore C.): James W. Taylor, 117.
Blue (C. S.): The German legion in Canada, 68.
Blue (C. S.). *See* Canadian Magazine.
Boivin (George H.). *See* Addresses delivered before the Canadian Club of Montreal.
Bolton (Reginald Pelham): An expensive experiment, the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario, 166.
Borden (*Sir* Robert): Canada at war, 6.
See Addresses delivered before the Canadian Club of Montreal.
Bourassa (Henri): Que devons-nous à l'Angleterre?, 4.
Brief bibliography of Canadian history, 214.
Brock (*Sir* Isaac): Some unpublished letters, 103.
Brooke (Rupert): Letters from America, 155.
Bruchési (Paul): Le problème des races au Canada, 91.
Bryce (George): The real Strathcona, 52.
Buffalo Historical Society: Publications.
See Severance: The case of Brigadier-General Alexander Smyth.
See Severance: The centenary of peace in relation to the region of the Niagara and the Great Lakes.
Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, 64.
Burpee (Lawrence J.): Highways of the fur trade, 150.
" Sir Sandford Fleming, Empire builder, 57.
" The International Joint Commission, 72.
Burwash (*Chancellor* N.): U.E. Loyalists, founders of our institutions, 61.
Cahall (Raymond Du Bois): The Sovereign Council of New France, 21.
Cameron (Edward Robert): The Canadian Constitution, 198.
Campbell (Robert): Diary, 69.
Campbell (T. J.): Pioneer laymen of North America, 19.
Canadian Alpine Journal, 162.
Canadian Annual Review, 65.
Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal, 65.
Canadian Magazine, 67.
" *See* Bryce: The real Strathcona.
Canniff (William): George Ryerson, 61.
Carnochan (Janet): Names only but much more, 107.
" Reminiscences of William Kirby, F.R.S.C., 61.
" Some mistakes in history, 103.
Carter (Clarence E.) and Alvord (Clarence W.), editors: The critical period 1763-1765, 31.
Casey (Magdalen): St. Germain-en-Laye, 63.
Catalogne (Gédéon de): Mémoire, 64.
Chadwick (E. M.): The flag of Empire, 62.
Chambers (Ernest J.): The unexploited west, 157.
Chartier (C. Edmond): La colonie de rapatriement, 70.

Chinard (Gilbert): Notes sur le voyage de Chateaubriand en Amérique, 34.
Claypole (Mary L.): The Ojibways of North America, 191.
Cleary (Francis): The battle of Windsor, 105.
" History of the town of Sandwich, 105.
Colby (C. W.): Champlain's explorations in 1615, 72.
" The day after Confederation, 72.
" The founder of New France, 15.
Colquhoun (A. H. U.). *See* Canadian Magazine.
Congden (Fred T.): Movement of the United Empire Loyalists from the United States to Canada, 61.
Connaught (*H.R.H. the Duke of*): The Patriotic fund, 63.
Cooke (Britton). *See* Canadian Magazine.
Cooper (F. C.): In the Canadian bush, 156.
Cornwall (James K.): From Edmonton to the Arctic, 64.
Cousineau (L. E.): Un sauveur de la race acadienne, 70.
Crockett (T.) and Wallis (B.C.): North America during the eighteenth century, 26.
Crothers (S. M.): The significance to the world of the hundred years of peace between the British Empire and the U.S., 64.
Cruickshank (E. A.), editor: Some unpublished letters from General Brock, 103.
Dale (Harrison C.): The organization of the Oregon Emigrating Committees, 138.
Dearborn (family of): Remnants of the letter files, 37.
DeCelles (A. D.): À la conquête de la liberté, les constitutions de Canada, 30.
Demers (Benjamin): Quelques notes historiques sur les missionaires, curés . . . de la paroisse dite La Pointe aux Trembles, 88.
" Un des premiers colons d'Etchemin, P.Q., Jean DuMet ou Demers, 90.
Department of Mines (Canada): Memoirs (Anthropological Series).
See Speck: Family hunting territories, etc.
See Speck: Myths and folk-lore of the Timiskaming Algonquin and Timagami Ojibwa.
Departments of History and Political and Economic Science in Queen's University: Bulletin. *See* Skelton: Federal finance.
De Tremaudan (A. H.): The Hudson Bay road, 152.
Dewey (A. Gordon). *See* Canadian Magazine.
Dixon (R. F.): Eddy's war, 68.
Dobie (Belle): Pioneer women of Port Arthur and district, 108.
Donald (W. J. A.): Canadian financial problems, 177.
" The Canadian iron and steel industry, 168.
Douglas (David): Journal during his travels in North America, 1823-27, 132.
Dugas (A. C.): Gerbes de souvenirs, 211.
Dunbar (Seymour): A history of travel in America, 149.
Dupuis (N.). *See* Queen's Quarterly.
Durham (*Lady*): Journal, 44.
Eames (Frank): The fashioning of flint, 189.
Eastman (Mack): Church and State in early Canada, 24.
Eaton (Arthur Wentworth): Chapters in the history of Halifax, 79.
" Rhode Island Settlers on the French lands in Nova Scotia in 1760 and 1761, 80.
Edinburgh Review. *See* Porritt: Canada in war-time.
Elie (*Brother*): La famille Casavant, 90.
" La famille Phaneuf-Farnsworth, 90.
Elliott (T. C.): The Dalles-Celilo portage, 131.
" The fur-trade in the Columbia river basin, 130.
Elliott (T. C.), editor: The journal of John Work, 134.
Erskine (*Mrs. Stewart*): Anna Jameson, letters and friendships, 96.
Essex Historical Society: Papers and Addresses, 105.

Evans (Sanford): Some practical national problems, 64.
Everitt (Nicholas): Round the world in strange company, 156.
Ewart (John S.): Capture at sea, contraband, blockade, 6.
Fairchild (—): Benedict Arnold, 72.
Fernald (M. L.): The natural history of ancient Vinland and its geographic significance, 11.
Field (Fred W.). *See* Johnson (ed.): Modern business.
Finley (John): The French in the heart of America, 16.
Firth (C. H.), editor: American garland, 29.
Foster (*Sir* George). *See* Addresses delivered before the Canadian Club of Montreal.
Froment (J. A.): Histoire de Saint-Martin, 88.
Gagnon (Ernest). *See* Sailly: Le prétendu drapeau de Carillon.
Gale (George): Quebec 'twixt old and new, 86.
Ganong (W. F.): Organization of the scientific investigation of the Indian place-nomenclature of the Maritime Provinces of Canada, 196.
Geographical Journal. *See* Mr. Stefansson's Expedition.
Geographical Society of Philadelphia: Bulletin.
See Townsend: A short trip into the Labrador peninsula, etc.
See Wheeler: The Dog-rib Indian and his home.
Geological Survey of Canada (Anthropological Division): Reports.
See Sapir: Abnormal types of speech in Nootka.
See Sapir: A Sketch of the social organization of the Nass river Indians.
See Sapir: Noun reduplication in Comox.
Gervais (Raphael): L'immunité réelle, 69.
Gilbert (Louis): Le Saskatchewan, 122.
Gordon (*Principal*). *See* Queen's Quarterly.
Gosselin (Auguste): France et Canada: Dieppe-Québec 1639; Québec-Dieppe 1912, 211.
Grant (William Lawson): The capture of Oswego by Montcalm in 1756, 27.
" The tribune of Nova Scotia, 77.
Green (Jonathan S.): Journal of a tour to the north west coast of America in the year 1829, 136.
Greene (Nelson), editor: The story of the old Fort Plain and the middle Mohawk valley, 27.
Groulx (Lionel): Nos luttes constitutionnelles, 70.
Gwillim (J. C.): Notes of a northwestern trail, 70.
Hammond (John Martin): Quaint and historic forts of North America, 20.
Harkin (W. A.): Political reminiscences of the Right Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, 51.
Harris (W. R.): Practice of medicine and surgery by the Canadian tribes in Champlain's time, 189.
" The pre-Christian cross, 188.
Hathaway (E. J.): The story of the Hurons, 189.
Haydon (A. L.): Canada and the war, 7.
Herrington (W. S.): Pioneer life among the Loyalist settlements of Upper Canada, 93.
" Pioneer life on the Bay of Quinté, 106.
" The Court of Requests, 106.
" Some notes on the first Legislative Assembly of Ontario and its Speaker, Hon. John Stevenson, 95.
Hill-Tout (Charles): Some notes upon the discovery of a prehistoric human skeleton in British Columbia, 192.
Hines (J.): The Red Indians of the plains, 187.
Hodgson (F. T.): Reminiscences 1848-1857, 106.
Hopkins (J. Castell), editor: Canadian Annual Review, 65.
Horsey (Amey): Gleanings from Ottawa scrap-books, 104.
Howard (G. E.). *See* Canadian Alpine Journal.

Howley (James P.): The Beothucks or Red Indians, 180.
Hughes (*Sir* Sam): The Canadian contingent, 63.
Hugolin (*Father*): Inventaire des travaux, livres, brochures, feuillets et autres écrits concernant la tempérance publiés par les Pères Franciscains du Canada de 1906 à 1915, 212.
" Les Franciscains et la croisade antialcoolique dans la province de Québec, 212.
Huron Institute: Papers and Records, 105.
Illinois State Historical Society: Publications.
See Alvord and Carter, editors: The critical period 1763-1765.
Jobe (Mary L.): Mt. Kitchi, 162.
" *See* Canadian Alpine Journal.
Johnson (Joseph French), editor: Modern business, 170.
Johnson (Walter S.). *See* Johnson (ed.): Modern business.
Johnston (*Sir* Harry): A gallery of heroes and heroines, 29.
Johnstone (*Chevalier* de): Mémoires, 28.
Journal of American Folk-lore.
See Barbeau: Wyandot tales.
See Speck: Penobscot tales.
See Speck: Some Micmac tales from Cape Breton Island.
See Speck: Some Naskapi myths from Little Whale river.
Journal of Political Economy. *See* Donald: Canadian financial problems.
Jouve (Odoric Marie): Les Franciscains et le Canada, 17.
Joyal (Arthur): Excursion sacerdotale chez les Tête-de-Boule, 88.
Kennedy (W. P. M.): Wolfe at Quebec, 68.
Laidlaw (George E.): Archaeological notes on Victoria County, 191.
" Certain Ojibwa myths, 188.
" Ojibwa myths and tales, 189.
" Ontario effigy pipes in stone, 188, 189, 190.
" Primitive fishhooks, 190.
Land (John H.): Echoes from 1837-38, 108.
" Notes on the Indian burial mound, foot of Emerald Street, Hamilton, 192.
" Tales of the lines, 108.
" Tales of the War—Queenston Heights, 108.
Lapalice (O. H. M.): Les esclaves noirs à Montréal sous l'ancien régime, 66.
Laureys (Henry). *See* Société de Géographie de Québec: Bulletin.
Laut (Agnes C.): The Canadian commonwealth, 144.
" Pioneers of the Pacific coast, 127.
Lees (John): Journal, 94.
Lemieux (Rodolphe): The Patriotic fund, 63.
Lennox and Addington Historical Society: Papers and Records, 106.
Lescarbot (Marc): History of New France, 12.
Le Vasseur (N.). *See* Société de Géographie de Québec: Bulletin.
Lewin (Evans): The Nova Scotia baronets, 71.
Lewis (John). *See* Canadian Magazine.
Lighthall (W. D.): The manor house of Lacolle, 66.
Lindsay (*Abbé*): Dom Urbain Guillet, 69.
Listenfelt (Hattie): The Hudson's Bay Company and the Red River trade, 115.
Literary and Historical Society of Quebec: Ninth series of Historical Documents.
See Durham: Journal.
See Johnstone: Mémoires.
Loft (F. O.): Captain Joseph Brant—Thayendanega, 61.
London and Middlesex Historical Society: Transactions, 106.
Lucas (*Sir* Charles P.): The British Empire, 1.
McArthur (Peter): In pastures green, 100.
Macdonald (J. A.): Democracy and the nations, 3.

Macdonald (W. J.): A pioneer, 141.
McKellar (Peter): The Thunder Bay harbour, 108.
Mackey (John). *See* Canadian Magazine.
McLachlan (R. W.): When was the Vexator Canadensis issued?, 66.
McLean (S. J.). *See* Johnson (ed.): Modern business.
Maclean's Magazine. *See* Hathaway: The story of the Hurons.
McLoughlin (John): Last letter to the Hudson's Bay Company, 138.
Macmillan (John C.): The history of the Catholic Church in Prince Edward Island from 1835 till 1891, 81.
Mailhot (Charles Edouard): Les Bois-francs, 87.
Main (Oscar): Indian ossuary near Sheffield, 192.
Marquis (Thomas Guthrie): The war chief of the Ottawas, 32.
Marsh (Edith L.): The county history as a factor in social progress, 104.
Martin (Kirwan): The Neutral nation, 191.
Massicotte (E. Z.): Fondation d'une communauté de Frères Instituteurs à Montréal en 1686, 65.
" La Bourse de Montréal sous le régime français, 65.
" Les actes des trois premiers tabellions de Montréal 1648-1657, 87.
" L'Incendie du vieux Montréal en 1721, 65.
Mavor (James). *See* Johnson (ed.): Modern business.
Meany (E. S.): Vancouver's discovery of Puget Sound, 129.
Meeker (Ezra): Story of the lost trail to Oregon, 140.
Merritt (W. Hamilton): Memoirs of Major Thomas Merritt, U.E.L., 61.
Minutes of Evidence on Migration, 176.
Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, 1830-1843, 121.
Mississipi Valley Historical Review.
See Remnants of the letter files of the Dearborn family.
Mitchell (E. B.): In western Canada before the war, 163.
Moore (W. F.): Indian place names, 191.
Morice (A. G.): Essai sur l'origine des Dénés de l'Amérique du Nord, 186.
" Northwestern Dénés and northeastern Asiatics, 185.
Morin (Victor): Les médailles décernées aux Indiens d'Amérique, 60.
" *See* Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal.
Mr. Stefansson's expedition, 160.
Muir (John): Travels in Alaska, 161.
Munn (A. L.): A trip up the Whirlpool river, 162.
" *See* Canadian Alpine Journal.
Munn (W. A.): The location of Helluland, Markland, and Wineland from the Icelandic sagas, 11.
Nettleton (John): Reminiscences 1857-1870, 106.
New Vancouver journal, 129.
Niagara History Society: Publication No. 27, 107.
Nouvelle France, 69.
" *See* Morice: Essai sur l'origine des Dénés de l'Amérique du Nord.
Nova Scotia Historical Society: Collections, 74.
Oliver (E. B.): Department of Health, Fort William, 108.
Oliver (E. H.): The country school in non-English-speaking communities in Saskatchewan, 211.
Oliver (E. H.), editor: The Canadian North-West, its early development and legislative records, 118.
Ontario Bureau of Archives: Reports, 97.
Ontario Historical Society: Annual Report, 103.
" Papers and Records, 103.

Oregon Historical Society: Quarterly, 131.
See Elliott: The fur-trade in the Columbia river basin.
See Dale: The organization of the Oregon Emigrating Committees.
Orr (Rowland B.): Annual Archaeological Report, 188.
Palmer (F.): Early days along the border, 105.
Parker (David W.): Guide to the documents in the Manuscript Room at the Public Archives of Canada, 213.
Parler Français. *See* Bédard: La traduction des noms géographiques.
Parmelee (G. W.) and Sutherland (J. C.): Education in the Province of Quebec, 209.
Patterson (E. L. Stewart). *See* Johnson (ed.): Modern business.
Peterson (*Sir* W.): Canadian essays and addresses, 59.
Piers (Harry): Artists in Nova Scotia, 74.
Political Quarterly. *See* Skelton: Canada in war-time.
Pope (*Sir* Joseph): The day of Sir John Macdonald, 46.
Porritt (Edward): Canada in war-time, 8.
Porsild (Morten P.): The principle of the screw in the technique of the Eskimo, 197.
Powell (E. Alexander): The end of the trail, 142.
Price (Julius J.), editor: Proceedings relating to the expulsion of Ezekiel Hart from the House of Assembly of Lower Canada, 91.
" Unpublished Canadian State papers relating to Benjamin Hart, 91.
Proudfoot (William): Letters and diary, 107.
Prud'homme (L. A.): Deux oubliés de l'histoire, 158.
" Le règne de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, 1821-1869, 110.
Queen's Quarterly, 69.
Raymond (*Archdeacon*): The first governor of New Brunswick and the Acadians of the river St. John, 76.
Raymond (Ethel T.): Tecumseh, 39.
Remnants of the letter files of the Dearborn family, 37.
Revue Canadienne, 70.
Revue des Deux Mondes. *See* Bellesort: Les souvenirs d'un seigneur Canadien.
Riddell (William Renwick): A Canadian's view of the battle of Plattsburgh, 40.
" A Canadian's view of the battle of New Orleans, 40.
" The century of peace and its significance, 40.
" The Court of King's Bench in Upper Canada 1824-27, 98.
" The duel in early Upper Canada, 98.
" The first judge at Detroit and his court, 99.
" The legal profession in Ontario and the Law Society of Upper Canada, 100.
Rod and Gun in Canada. *See* Laidlaw: Primitive fishhooks.
Ross (W. R.). *See* Canadian Alpine Journal.
Roy (P. G.): Jean Peronne Dumesnil et ses mémoires, 64.
" Les conseillers au Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France, 23.
" Un conseil de guerre à Montréal (1757), 70.
Royal Canadian Institute: Transactions.
See Morice: Northwestern Dénés and northeastern Asiatics.
Royal Society of Canada: Proceedings. *See* Adams: The national domain in Canada and its proper conservation.
Royal Society of Canada: Transactions.
See Barbeau: Le folk-lore canadien-français.
See Bruchési: Le problème des races au Canada.
See Burpee: Highways of the fur trade.

Royal Society of Canada: Transactions—*Continued*
See Ganong: Organization of the scientific investigation of the Indian place-nomenclature of the Maritime Provinces of Canada.
See Gosselin: France et Canada.
See Grant: The capture of Oswego by Montcalm in 1756.
See Herrington: Some notes on the first Legislative Assembly of Ontario and its Speaker, Hon. John Stevenson.
See Massicotte: Les actes des trois premiers tabellions de Montréal.
See Morin: Les médailles décernées aux Indiens d'Amérique.
See Prud'homme: Deux oubliés de l'histoire.
See Prud'homme: Le règne de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson.
See Raymond: The first governor of New Brunswick and the Acadians of the river St. John.
See Roy: Les conseillers au Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France.
See Sapir: The social organization of the west coast tribes.
See Shortt: Railroad construction and national prosperity.
See Siebert: The Loyalists and Six Nation Indians in the Niagara peninsula.
See Siebert: The Loyalist settlements on the Gaspé peninsula.
See Siebert: The temporary settlements of Loyalists at Machiche P.Q.
See Sulte: La noblesse au Canada avant 1914.
See Tremblay: La sépulture d'Etienne Brulé.
See White: Treaty of 1825—correspondence.
Sailly (Pierre): Le prétendu drapeau de Carillon, 70.
Sapir (E.): Abnormal types of speech in Nootka, 195.
" A sketch of the social organization of the Nass river Indians, 195.
" Noun reduplication in Comox, 195.
" The Na-Dene languages, 196.
" The social organization of the west coast tribes, 194.
Scammell (E. H.): The Rush-Bagot agreement of 1817, 104.
Science. *See* Hill-Tout: Some notes upon the discovery of a prehistoric human skeleton.
Scott (H. Percy): The new slavery, 170.
Scottish Geographical Magazine. *See* Babcock: The so-called mythical islands of the Atlantic.
Severance (Frank H.): The case of Brigadier-General Alexander Smyth, 41.
" The centenary of peace in relation to the region of the Niagara and the Great Lakes, 41.
Sherk (A. B.): Early militia matters in Upper Canada, 104.
" The Tunkers, 62.
Shortt (Adam): Railroad construction and national prosperity, 179.
Sicotte (L. W.): The affair Walker and trial of Daniel Disney, Esq., 66.
Siebert (Wilbur H.): The Loyalists and Six Nation Indians in the Niagara peninsula, 34.
" The Loyalist settlements on the Gaspé peninsula, 34.
" The temporary settlements of Loyalists at Machiche P.Q., 34.
Sifton (*Sir* Clifford). *See* Addresses delivered before the Canadian Club of Montreal.
Simard (*Father*). *See* Nouvelle France.
Skelton (O. D.): Canada in war-time, 7.
" Federal finance, 176.
Smith (D.): The newspaper, 108.
Smith (Joseph H.): The City of Hamilton, 108.
Smith (W.): Canadian ocean steamships and their early difficulties, 69.
Société de Géographie de Québec: Bulletin, 62.
Sowter (T. W. Edwin): The highway of the Ottawa, 103, 189.

Speck (Frank G.): Family hunting territories and social life of various Algonkian bands of the Ottawa river, 193.
" Myths and folk-lore of the Timiskaming Algonquin and Timagami Ojibwa, 194.
" Penobscot tales, 197.
" Some Micmac tales from Cape Breton Island, 197.
" Some Naskapi myths from Little Whale river, 197.
" The eastern Algonkian Wabanaki confederacy, 192.
" The family hunting band as the basis of Algonkian social organization, 192.
Squires (Charles W.): Münsterberg and militarism checked, 8.
State Historical Society of North Dakota: Collections.
See Listenfelt: The Hudson's Bay Company and the Red River trade.
See Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land.
See Summary of Evidence in the controversy between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company.
Steele (S. B.): Forty years in Canada, 124.
Struthers (Irving E.). *See* Canadian Magazine.
Sulte (Benjamin): En pays de mission (1641-1647), 70.
" La noblesse au Canada avant 1914, 25.
" La Vérenderie avant ses voyages au Nord-Ouest, 64.
" "Row, Brothers, row," 66.
" Samuel Champlain, 66.
" The valley of the Ottawa in 1613, 103.
" *See* Société de Géographie de Québec: Bulletin.
Summary of Evidence in the controversy between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company, 114.
Sutherland (J. C.) and Parmelee (G. W.): Education in the Province of Quebec, 209.
Swanson (W. W.). *See* Johnson (ed.): Modern business.
Talkington (Henry L.): Story of the river, 131.
Taylor (James W.). *See* Blegen: James W. Taylor.
Teefy (Matthew): Annals of an old post office on Yonge Street, 103.
Thunder Bay Historical Society: Annual Report, 108.
Todd (Herbert George): Armory and lineages of Canada, 60.
Townsend (Charles W.): A short trip into the Labrador peninsula by way of the Natashquan river, 92.
Townshend (*Sir* Charles). *See* Nova Scotia Historical Society: Collections.
Tremblay (Jules): La sépulture d'Etienne Brulé, 16.
Tucker (A. B.): The battle glory of Canada, 6.
United Empire, 71.
United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada: Annual Transactions, 61.
University Magazine, 71.
Updyke (Frank A.): The diplomacy of the War of 1812, 36.
Wade (F. C.): Experiments with the single tax in western Canada, 178.
Wallace (W. Stewart): The Family Compact, 41.
Wallis (B. C.) and Crockett (T.): North America during the eighteenth century, 26.
Warner (Clarance M.): The growth of Canadian national feeling, 68, 104.
Washington Historical Quarterly.
See New Vancouver journal.
See Elliott: The fur-trade in the Columbia river basin.
See Elliott (ed.): The journal of John Work.
See Bagley (ed.): Journal of occurrences at Nisqually House.
Watson (E. H. Lacon): A conversational tour in America, 156.
Wentworth Historical Society: Papers and Records, 108, 191.
Wheeler (David E.): The Dog-rib Indian and his home, 160.

Whitbeck (R. H.): The St. Lawrence river and its part in the making of Canada, 149.
White (James): Treaty of 1825—correspondence respecting the boundary between Russian America (Alaska) and British North America, 142.
" *See* Canadian Alpine Journal.
White (*Sir* Thomas). *See* Addresses delivered before the Canadian Club of Montreal.
Williams (David): Some pages from Collingwood's story, 106.
Willson (Beckles): The life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, 52.
" Wolfe's men and Nova Scotia, 74.
With the first Canadian contingent, 8.
Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto: Transactions, 108.
Women's Historical Society of Ottawa: Transactions, 63.
Wood (Frank): Indian relics and implements found in and around the city of Hamilton, Ont., 191.
Wood (Louis Aubrey): The Red River colony, 113.
Wood (Ruth Kedzie): The tourist's Maritime Provinces, 81.
Wood (William): The great fortress, 75.
" The war with the United States, 35.
" *See* Addresses delivered before the Canadian club of Montreal.
Work (John): Journal, 134.
Worsfold (W. Basil). *See* United Empire.
Yeigh (Frank). *See* Canadian Magazine.

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